

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XXIX

FEBRUARY, 1893

No. 2

SOCIETY IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE REPUBLIC

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THE choice of New York for the sittings of congress gave to that old home of the Dutch and Huguenots, hardly recovered from the war, a new dignity, and enlarged opportunities for social intercourse with senators, members, and high officials coming from the various states of the American Union, whose differing colonial antecedents were associated with the best blood and the eventful history of Europe.

There is available an opportunity of gaining an exact and minute acquaintance with social events, and the personages who made them what they were, in the early days of our republic. By a happy chance there has been preserved Mrs. John Jay's *Dinner and Supper List for 1787 and '8*—a period when her husband was secretary for foreign affairs for the continental congress. The names which the list furnishes, together with the memoranda afforded by occasional private correspondence, and the published notes of European travelers touching that interesting period, contribute to give a picture, that already possesses an historic interest, of the social circles of New York during its brief existence as the national capital under the articles of confederation, and for two sessions of the first congress under the Constitution. Armed with this list, and some concomitant documentary or printed aids, we can look in upon the banquet-halls of the substantial, spacious mansions of that day,—owned or occupied by magnates of the republic, of the state, of the city, of the diplomatic circles, and of society itself,—and people them again with those who were accustomed to gather there. We can glance along the festive boards, and observe who of note at home or abroad met in those days around them.

The society of New York at that time, despite the comparative insignificance of the city in extent and population, and all that it had suffered during the war, presented more strikingly than in after years, when domestic and foreign immigration had made it a common centre, those distinguished characteristics, derived from its blended ancestry and colonial history, that are still discernible in the circles of the Knickerbockers, and which recall alike to Americans and to Europeans the earlier traditions of

the national metropolis. While here and there might be found members of a family which, misled by mistaken convictions, had during the war sided with the mother-country, or had timidly endeavored to preserve an inglorious neutrality, the tone of society was eminently patriotic, and worthy of

General Washington
 presents his most respectf: & com-
 pliments to M^r & Mrs Jay — Encouraged
 in her request by General St. Clair
 he takes pleasure in presenting
 the inclosed with thanks for so
 polite a testimony of her approve-
 tion & esteem — He wishes most fer-
 vently, that prosperous gales — an
 unruffled sea — & every thing plea-
 sible & desirable, may smooth the
 path she is about to walk in. —

West Point Octob^r 7th

1779

* A lock of the general's hair —

WASHINGTON'S NOTE TO MRS. JAY ON HER DEPARTURE FOR SPAIN.

the antecedents of an ancestry representing, in the words of an English historian, "the best stock of Europe who had sought homes in the western world, and in whose forms of government, charter, provincial, and even proprietary, may be discerned the germs of a national liberty." With the culture and refinement of a class thus happily descended and fortu-

nately situated was blended that love of country which lends dignity to wealth, and respectability to fashion.

As host and hostess at the dinners and suppers for which the list before mentioned was composed, Mr. and Mrs. John Jay would deserve to be singled out for notice before we devote attention to the other social luminaries. But there was another reason why they figured so centrally in the social events of that day. John Jay was now secretary for foreign affairs. To relate his previous services as patriot, chief justice of the state, minister to Spain, and commissioner for peace, would be superfluous in this paper. But it is worth while to emphasize the significance of his position as foreign secretary. In the inchoate condition of continental government, when congress was at the head, but was itself without very clearly defined powers; when there was not any one person endowed with the chief executive functions—the secretary for foreign affairs was really the only concrete expression of the government by, of, and for the people, which had just been wrested from Great Britain, to which other nations could at all clearly address themselves. He, too, was the person to whom the several states must look as the link for communication between themselves and that delusive thing—the general government. Hence, John Jay's position made him in effect the chief of state. His was not very unlike that of John of Barneveld or John De Witt in the days of the Dutch republic, whose various members would not resign their sovereignty to a chief or president, whose stadt-holder mainly led the national armies, but whose land's advocate or grand pensionary—*i. e.*, the principal civil functionary—was the man who received the ambassadors of foreign princes and instructed the republic's ministers at foreign courts, and thus to all the world abroad was conspicuously first among all her citizens. Being thus similarly placed, it became John Jay's duty to do the honors for his country, and his wife was eminently fitted to assist him in the performance of that duty. It will be proper to give an account of her here.

Her maiden name was Sarah Van Brugh Livingston, her father being William Livingston, governor of New Jersey, and he the grandson of Robert Livingston, the founder of the family in America. Her mother



Sa. Jay

was Susanna French, the granddaughter of Philip French, mayor of New York in 1702, and who joined Colonel Nicholas Bayard in that address which caused the latter's conviction of high treason. Sarah was the fourth daughter, born in August, 1757. She inherited some of her father's finest traits, intellectual and moral, which were developed by a very careful education. But with the father's stern patriotism and resolution she blended

features of gentleness, grace, and beauty peculiarly her own. The delicate sensibility occasionally exhibited in her letters seems to have come from her mother. Her marriage to John Jay took place on April 28, 1774, in the midst of the agitations that foreboded the shock of the Revolution, and almost exactly one year before the battle of Lexington. She was then not quite eighteen years old, while Mr. Jay was twenty-eight. Up to this time he had held no public office, excepting that of secretary to the royal commission for settling the boundary between New York and New Jersey. But now, before the honeymoon was complete, in May,



Margaret Bayard

1774. Jay was called to take part in the first movements of the Revolution. His public duties as member of the New York provincial congress, of the New York committee of safety, and of the continental congress, kept him

¹ Mrs. Bayard, the wife of Colonel John Bayard, was with her husband a frequent guest at the dinners and other entertainments given by General and Mrs. Washington in New York and Philadelphia. The Bible seen in her portrait painted by Peale, is now in the possession of her great-grand-daughter Mrs. Jas. Grant Wilson of New York.

constantly separated from his young wife. But finally a post of honor, yet of difficulty and danger, was given him, which enabled the youthful pair to be more constantly together, although far distant from friends and country, and which at the same time was to furnish Mrs. Jay with excellent opportunities for training to successfully occupy the position of first lady in the land during the decade following the declaration of peace.

On October 10, 1779, Mr. Jay, having been appointed minister to Spain, sailed in the congressional frigate, the *Confederacy*, accompanied by Mrs. Jay; by her brother, Colonel Brockholst Livingston, afterward a judge of the supreme court of the United States, as his private secretary; and by Mr. William Carmichael, a member of congress, as his public secretary. After a rather quiet life in Spain came a residence of several years at or in the vicinity of Paris, while her husband was engaged with Franklin and Adams in negotiating the peace which confirmed American independence. Did space or scope here permit, we should be tempted to blend with this sketch something more than a mere glance at the historic memories of the period connected with the peace negotiations, in which Mrs. Jay was almost a participant, from her intimate association with the negotiators, who frequently met at her apartments. There is no page certainly in our foreign diplomacy to which the intelligent American reader will ever recur with more national pride and interest than that which records the progress and result of these negotiations. Meanwhile, the scenes and the society amid which Mrs. Jay lived for nearly two years presented a brilliant contrast to the trials and hardships to which she had been subjected by the war at home, as well as to her more retired life during their residence at Madrid. As Mr. Jay declined to accept the courtesies of the Spanish court except as the minister of an independent nation, and as Spain would not recognize him as such, it is probable that Mrs. Jay never appeared at the royal assemblies. At Paris everything was different. History has made us familiar with the Paris of that period, so interesting as presenting the last pictures of the pride and splendor that were still unconscious of the impending and fierce French revolution.

Marie Antoinette, now in her twenty-ninth year, but four years the senior of Mrs. Jay, still justified by her grace and beauty the enthusiastic encomiums of her contemporaries. Mrs. Jay wrote of her: "She is so handsome, and her manners are so engaging, that almost forgetful of republican principles, I was ready, while in her presence, to declare her born to be a queen." The fantasies of fashion, says a court historian, revealed the spirit of France as capricious and changeable. The queen and her intimate friends, especially the Comtesse Diane de Polignac and

the Marquise de Vaudrienne, changed the mode day by day. The women wore the hair most fantastically raised in a pyramid, and this high edifice was crowned with flowers, as if it were a garden. It is both apt and important, in this connection, to get a view of the Parisian mode from Mrs. Jay's own hand: "At present the prevailing fashions are very decent

and very plain; the gowns most worn are the robes à l'Anglaise, which are exactly like the Italian habits that were in fashion in America when I left it; the sultana is also à la mode, but it is not expected that it will long remain so. Every lady makes them of slight silk. There is so great a variety of hats, caps, cuffs, that it is impossible to describe them. I forgot the robe à l'Anglaise if trimmed either with the same or gauze is dress; but if untrimmed must be worn with an apron and is undress."

The two circles of society where Mrs. Jay was entirely at home in Paris were those which were to be found in the hotels of La Fayette and Franklin. Among the first to congratulate her on her arrival there were the marquis and the marquise. If the circle she met at the Hotel de Noailles was

marked by its aristocracy of rank, that which surrounded the venerable philosopher at Passy was no less celebrated for happily blending the choicest and the most opposite elements of the world of learning, wit, and fashion. Among the more intimate friends of Franklin were Turgot, the Abbé Raynal, Rochefoucauld, Cabanis, Le Roy, Mably, Mirabeau, D'Holbach, Marmontel, Neckar, Malesherbes, Watelet, and Mesdames de Genlis, Denis, Helvetius, Brillon, and La Reillard. Thus among men

¹ Mrs. King was the only daughter of John Alsop, a prominent New York merchant. She was remarkable for her beauty, gentleness, and the grace of her manners; her mind, too, was highly cultivated, and she was among those who adorned American society.



and women of wit, wisdom, and beauty, amid the smiles of royalty and the ceremonious conventionalities of the court and courtly circles, Mrs. Jay was being prepared at the capital of the world of fashion for her prominent part in the capital of the nascent republic. On July 24, 1784, after an absence of more than four years and a half, she arrived in New York with her husband and children. Before the arrival Jay had already been appointed secretary for foreign affairs. There being then no president of the United States, and the secretary having charge of the whole foreign correspondence, as well as of that between the general and the state governments, his position has been well described by some one as "unquestionably the most prominent and responsible civil office under the confederation." The entertaining of the foreign ministers, officers of government, members of congress, and persons of distinction, was an important incident, and Mrs. Jay's domestic duties assumed something of an official character. But her long residence near European courts, and her recent association with the brilliant circles of the French capital, assisted her to fill with ease the place she was now to occupy, and to perform its graceful duties in a manner becoming the dignity of the republic, to whose fortunes she had been so devoted.

The house which was thus made the centre of the social world in New York deserves a moment's attention. The home of the Jays for one or two generations had been in Westchester county. At the age of forty the father of John Jay, having already acquired a competency in mercantile pursuits, retired from business and from New York to settle in comfort at a country house and farm at Rye. Jay's mother was a Van Cortlandt, through whom the estate at Bedford fell into his possession. At Rye he was born and brought up. On his marriage the occupations and duties to which the troubled times called him, as has been noted, prevented the youthful pair from establishing a home of their own. Mrs. Jay, during the almost continuous separation from her husband, passed the greater part of the time at the residence of her father, the governor, at Liberty Hall, Elizabethtown, New Jersey. But occasional visits were made also to her husband's parents at Rye, in Westchester county, New



LIBERTY HALL, BIRTHPLACE OF MRS. JAY.

York. There was no opportunity for setting up a permanent establishment until the return from Europe in 1784, when Jay's official duties required his presence in New York city. He then built or rented a house in Broadway, which in the directory for 1789 is marked No. 133; but it is somewhat difficult to identify the exact location, since there was then no regularity about the numbers of houses. "Thus No. 33 was at one of the corners of Cortlandt street; No. 29 was near Maiden lane; and No. 58 was nearly opposite to it; No. 62 was at the corner of Liberty street; No. 76 was nearly opposite the City Tavern, which was between the present numbers 113 and 119; and No. 85 was nearly opposite to Trinity church. Odd and even numbers were given to houses without regard to the side of the street upon which they stood, and in some cases two houses bore the same number."¹ The present location of No. 133 Broadway, if there were such a number,² should be between Cedar and Liberty streets, then respectively known as Little Queen and Crown streets. The only Jay house in Broadway which I know of was of granite—I think a double house with plain exterior, on the east side of Broadway,

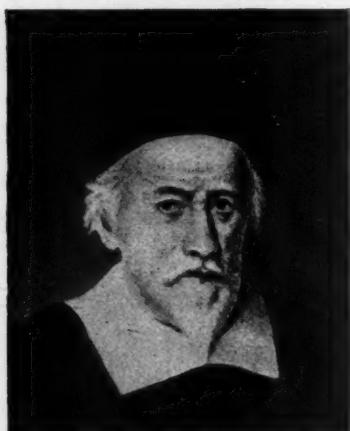
below Wall street, which by Jay's will (he died in 1829) was left to his son Peter Augustus Jay, who sold it. The purchaser erected upon the premises several stores, which were used for the storage of government supplies.

The names that are preserved in so interesting a manner upon Mrs. Jay's lists fall naturally into groups, and are to be studied to the best advantage as thus arranged. The bar of New York shall be noticed first. It gave to the salons of the day an array of names never since surpassed

¹ Thomas E. V. Smith, *New York City in 1789*, p. 24.

² The number next to 119 in Broadway is 135.

³ John Livingston, a Scottish Presbyterian divine, was a member of the General Assemblies, and in 1650, one of the commissioners from the Church of Scotland to Charles II., then at Breda. Banished in 1663 for non-conformity, he died at Rotterdam. He was the father of Robert Livingston, founder of the American family, and the ancestor of Mrs. Jay. The vignette is from a painting in the possession of Mrs. Robert Ralston Crosby of New York, a daughter of Colonel Henry Livingston of Poughkeepsie.



John Livingston

in our juridical history: James Duane, Richard Harrison, Aaron Burr, Alexander Hamilton, Morgan Lewis, Robert Troup, Robert R. Livingston, Egbert Benson, John Watts, Gouverneur Morris, Richard Varick, John Lansing, Josiah Ogden Hoffman, and James Kent. At various times they appeared under the hospitable roof of the Jays, and in turn met at the tables of other dignitaries of their own or other professions; and it will be proper to take a more particular glance at each of those named in the group above. James Duane was at this time fifty-six years old, and in the full vigor of his powers. He had been mayor of the city since 1784, a position which he yielded in the year 1789 to his colleague in the profession, Richard Varick, now city recorder. His wife was a daughter of Colonel Robert Livingston. He had been diligent in the cause of the republic, but withal conservative in his temperament, of exactly the position in all the Revolutionary movements that John Jay, his frequent host, occupied throughout. He was a delegate to the continental congress when it first met, and remained a member of it all through its existence. He was elected a member of the senate of the State for the terms 1782 to 1785, and again in 1789 to 1790. He was appointed United States judge for the district of New York in 1789, serving till 1794, and in 1797 he died. His residence was at No. 17 Nassau street, and therefore within a short distance of Mr. Jay's. His presence lent dignity to every gathering of celebrity of that day, either as mayor, United States judge, or state senator, which honors were all upon him in the year 1789, and some of them in 1788, the period to which the list has reference. Richard Harrison was not quite forty years of age when he was wont to meet his friends at Secretary Jay's table, and he remained a prominent figure in the government, which was then yet to be initiated, until far into the present century. He was made auditor of the treasury by Washington in 1791, held that position until 1836, and died in Washington in July, 1841, at the age of ninety-one. He owned an estate in New York which was then far from the heart of the city, but which can be roughly described as corresponding to-day to the block between Eighth and Ninth avenues and Thirtieth and Thirty-first streets. His residence in 1789 was at 11 Queen (or Pearl) street, above Hanover square. In the profession of the law he greatly distinguished himself, and on the strength of that distinction he was invited to prominent houses in 1788 and 1789, as his official life had not then begun.

The two names that next claim attention naturally produce a mingled sensation of pleased and painful surprise—pleased to observe that these two brilliant minds could meet together in friendship and brighten

a gay company with their undoubted talents; painful because of that future fatal day, which was mercifully veiled from their view, but which posterity can never forget when their names are mentioned. They were the leading lawyers of their day, often opposed, sometimes united, on cases; but with a generous rivalry between them, we may be sure. It was not on professional grounds that antagonism arose. It was the baneful influence of politics, and the lines that finally divided them had not yet begun to be drawn, or not very distinctly at least, when they met in



J. W. Schuyler
brilliant gifts made her a "queen of American society" later, was then but a child.

Of Hamilton little need here be said. The vivacity of his French blood would make him a welcome guest at every social gathering, and the wit and wisdom of his conversation would flow with equal readiness there, as on the more serious occasions of the public debate before popular assemblies or in senatorial halls. As a bit of gossip, no doubt picked up in just such drawing-room circles, M. de Rochefoucauld Liancourt (afterward the Duc de Rochefoucauld) mentions the following concerning Hamilton: "Disinterestedness in regard to money, rare everywhere, very rare in America, is one of the most generally recognized traits of Mr. Hamilton; and although his actual practice might be very lucrative, I learn from his clients that their sole complaint against him is the smallness of the fees which he asks of them."¹ It is also well known that Mrs. Hamilton was a daughter of General Philip Schuyler, of Albany, and thus in her veins flowed the blood of one of the noblest colonial families, distinguished

¹ *Voyage dans les Etats Unis d'Amérique, 1795, 1796, 1797* (8 vols., Paris), vii. 150.

in the history of the province for more than a century. From a letter of one lady to another—from Miss Kitty Livingston to her sister, Mrs. Jay, while the latter was in Madrid—we obtain a pleasant glance into the incipiency of this happy union. It is dated at Trenton, May 23, 1780, and contains this passage: "General and Mrs. Schuyler are at Morristown. The general is one of three that compose a committee from congress. They expect to be with the army all summer. Mrs. Schuyler returns to Albany when the campaign opens. Apropos, Betsey Schuyler is engaged to our friend Colonel Hamilton. She has been at Morristown, at Dr. Cochrane's, since last February." A contemporary account of Mrs. Hamilton, at the very time when her name was put down on the dinner-list, occurs in the pages of M. Brissot de Warville: "A charming woman, who joins to the graces all the candor and simplicity of an American wife." Her own hospitalities were dispensed at her house, situated on the corner of Broad and Wall streets. Burr's residence at this time was scarce a stone's throw distant, at 10 Nassau street. Richmond Hill had either not as yet come into his possession, or was used only in summer as a country-seat. In 1789 it was occupied by Vice-President John Adams.

Continuing to cast the eye along the list of legal celebrities given above, we are reminded that then the city of New York, besides being the federal capital, was also the capital of the state. Here, therefore, resided the chancellor, Robert R. Livingston, of the Clermont branch of that numerous family. His residence was No. 3 Broadway. It fell to his share to administer the oath of office to President Washington; and after he had represented our nation at the court of the great Napoleon, winning the latter's admiration, and doing signal service to his native land in negotiating the purchase of Louisiana, he immortalized his name above all these other causes by actively pushing to success Fulton's invention for navigating vessels by steam, the *Clermont* bearing the name of his estate on the Hudson. Egbert Benson, another member of the group of



E. Hamilton

lawyers, was the first attorney-general of the state, holding the office from 1777 to 1789. After that he was a judge of the Supreme Court of New York, and, living to a good old age, became the first President of the New York Historical Society. Another name high in the annals of the state government is that of Morgan Lewis. After an honorable career as soldier, no sooner were actual hostilities over than he resigned from the army and began his civil career. "He was so impatient," observes his granddaughter, Mrs. Delafield, "to resume the study of the law, that he returned to New York before the British troops had vacated the town." There was some risk in this proceeding, for on the eve of the departure of the British there appeared good reason to expect a conflagration. But the danger passed, and Lewis, as well as Hamilton and other young lawyers, soon had his hands full of business. Morgan Lewis was married to a sister of Chancellor Livingston. He became attorney-general of the state in 1791, then chief-justice, and in 1804 defeated Burr as candidate for governor. Though Lewis was no longer of Hamilton's party, it was through Hamilton's efforts that no part of the broken federalist ranks went over to Burr; and out of this gubernatorial contest grew the quarrel that terminated so disastrously to both those gifted men.

An honored place in the circles of New York society was due also to John Lansing, who had been mayor of Albany, and was still a resident of that town, but who was in New York as speaker of the State assembly. He succeeded Livingston as chancellor, and was in turn succeeded by James Kent. Gouverneur Morris, too, a lawyer, but preëminently a financier, the co-laborer in the difficult and desperate days of republican finances with his namesake (but not kinsman) Robert Morris, would ride into town from Morrisania, which he had just purchased, and be welcomed for his patriotic services, as well as for his descent from some of the oldest colonial families—from Gouverneur, the son-in-law of Jacob Leisler, and from the chief justice of the province when it was still a royal possession. In December, 1788, however, he went to England; and while there was appointed minister to France, serving in that post at the beginning of the Reign of Terror. It was also something deeper than the amenities of social life which brought Gouverneur Morris under the roof of Secretary Jay. Once, while the latter was in Europe, Morris hastily dispatched this note, speaking volumes for the affection which prompted it: "Dear Sir,—It is now within a few minutes of the time when the mail is made up and sent off. I can not, therefore, do more than just to assure you of the continuance of my love. Adieu." Of the remaining names we need only note that Robert Troup was a lifelong friend, from collège days, of Ham-

ilton, and born in the same year; that John Watts had received back the estate which his father's "loyalty" had forfeited; and that Richard Varick, at first recorder, succeeded James Duane as mayor of the city. Josiah Ogden Hoffman and James Kent were both in their youthful vigor; the latter admitted to the bar in 1785, and thus just commencing the career that gave him, while yet living, a world-wide reputation as advocate and jurist, author of his celebrated law commentaries.

Pursuing our review of the contributions from professional life to dinner-tables and social circles, a glance may be taken at the ministers and physicians eminent in those days. Of the Reformed (Dutch) Church the pastors were Dr. John Henry Livingston and Dr. William Linn; these preached exclusively in English, and were themselves not even of Dutch extraction. But in the old Garden Street church there worshiped a remnant who still loved to hear the mother-tongue, and Dr. Gerardus Kuypers ministered to them; but he made no practice of mingling with high society. Dr. Livingston, however, was intimately connected, as his name indicates, with the most prominent official and social circles, Mrs. Jay herself being a Livingston. He had also married a Livingston, the daughter of Philip, the "signer" of the Declaration, who had a house on Brooklyn Heights at the beginning of the war. The doctor's tall and dignified figure and high breeding would make him a notable addition to any company; his colleague, Dr. Linn, too, was a man of note, having the reputation of being by far the most eloquent preacher in New York and even in the United States. In 1789 he was elected chaplain to the House of Representatives, the first to occupy that office.

Both the Presbyterian ministers, Drs. John Rodgers and John Mason, appear on the dinner-list. Dr. Rodgers was pastor of the Wall street and



THE OLD BRICK CHURCH.

“Brick Meeting” churches, which were united under one government. The latter church stood on the site of the *New York Times* and the Potter buildings, or the triangular block bounded by Beekman and Nassau streets and Park Row. Dr. Rodgers was a native of Boston, an ardent patriot during the war, and having served as brigade chaplain, he must have been

on terms of familiar acquaintance with most of the officers of the Revolutionary army who were now prominent in civil life. He would be welcomed in society, therefore, and also for the reason that he felt entirely at home in such surroundings. Mrs. Rodgers was a Bayard of the Delaware branch of the family. “He was elegant in manners but formal to such a degree that there is a tradition that the last thing which he and his wife always did before retiring for the night was to salute each other with a bow and a courtesy.” As to his personal appearance, “he is described as a stout man of medium height who wore a white wig, was extremely careful in his dress, and walked with the most majestic dignity.”

Dr. Mason was pastor of the Scotch or Covenanter Presbyterian church, located on the south side of Cedar street, between Nassau street and Broadway, now represented by the church on Fourteenth street, near Sixth avenue. He, too, had been a zealous patriot, and served for some years as chaplain at West Point. He was a near neighbor of Dr. Linn’s, living at 63 Cortlandt street, while the latter’s number was 66. He was of medium stature, earnest and solid in his pulpit efforts rather than eloquent, born and educated in Scotland, and a stout opponent there of state interference with the choice of ministers by congregations. His manners were polished, as of a man who had mingled much with people of birth and distinction on both sides of the ocean.

Of the Episcopal clergy we find on the list the name of Dr. Benjamin Moore, who was now rector of Trinity, but had at one time been removed from the position because Tory votes had put him into it. He lived not far from the church, at 46 Broadway. But chief among them as a social figure, by reason of his office as well as because of his social qualities and undoubted patriotic sympathies, was the “easy, good-tempered, gentle-



John Rodgers

manly, and scholarly Dr. Provoost, Bishop of New York—a chaplain of Congress, and a welcome guest at the dinner table of his friends." The doctor had been devoted to the American cause, was a native of the city, and of Dutch or combined Dutch and Huguenot descent. For even then the city presented the curious "contradiction in circumstances," so often repeated since and seen to-day, that in the Dutch pulpits stood men without a particle of Dutch blood in their veins, while in the Episcopal churches the purest Knickerbockers led the devotions of the people. The bishop was in every respect a most estimable and agreeable person; and, in addition to his Hebrew, classic, and ecclesiastical lore, he is said to have been familiar with French, German, and Italian. It is even affirmed that as a literary recreation—and the circumstance seems more significant in view alike of his Episcopal duties and the times—he had made a new poetical translation of Tasso. He was in a position, therefore, to flavor his conversation at social gatherings with the elegancies of modern literature, as well as to edify men with "the weightier matters of the law." He was a neighbor of the Rev. Dr. Rodgers, who lived at 7 Nassau street, while the bishop resided at No. 2. In person it is recorded of him that he had a round, full face, was rather above the medium in stature, of portly figure, and very dignified in demeanor.¹ He was a public-spirited man, hospitable, and so liberal to the poor as to infringe rather too deeply upon his moderate salary of seven hundred pounds per annum, with house rent-free; the pound in America then being of but half its value.

The medical profession was represented at that day by Dr. John Charlton, Drs. John and Samuel Bard (father and son, who operated at the lancing of a carbuncle from which Washington suffered during his residence in the Franklin house), Dr. Wright Post, Dr. Richard Bailey, Dr. Benjamin Kissam, Dr. Johnson, Dr. Jones, Dr. Nicholas Romaine, Dr. Charles McKnight, Dr. James Tillery, and several others. The whole membership of the Medical Society in 1789 amounted to twenty-eight.

¹ Wilson's *Centennial History of the Diocese of New York*, p. 127.



Sam'l Provoost

On the dinner-list appear only the names of Drs. Charlton, Kissam, and Johnson. Dr. Charlton lived at 100 Broadway, and thus within easy call of Jay's house, and he may have been the family physician.¹ Under one date on the list, the only guests for dinner are Dr. and Mrs. Charlton, and this little repast, almost *en famille*, would lend support to the theory. But

the name most frequently occurring is that of Dr. Johnson. Dr. Benjamin Kissam may have been the father of the more celebrated Dr. Richard Sharpe Kissam, who graduated at Edinburgh in 1789 and began practice in New York in 1791. The former resided at 156 Queen (now Pearl) street; to judge from the number—counting above Hanover Square—the doctor's house must have been a few blocks above Franklin square. It is surprising that some of the greater lights of the profession—so eminent a surgeon as Dr.



Cornelia Van Rensselaer

Wright Post, for one—were not found more frequently at the social gatherings of the day. It would be singular if they appeared elsewhere, and were not among the honored guests at Secretary Jay's.

Prominent upon Mrs. Jay's list are, of course, the names of the old New York families—the Bayards, the Beekmans, the Crugers, the De Peysters, the Livingstons, the Morrises, the Schuylers, the Van Hornes, the Van Cortlandts, the Van Rensselaers, the Verplancks, the Wattses. While some of these furnished men for high positions in the service of the nation, the state, or the city, their position in society was assured, independently of that, by the descent from those who bore these names with honor from the earliest colonial times, as well as by the possession of ample wealth and the refinement which several generations of affluence will naturally bestow. Hence the majority of the names just mentioned

¹ His portrait in crayon, of life-size, representing a handsome, portly gentleman, hangs in the spacious Jay mansion at Bedford.

owed their prominence solely to social distinction. But now that New York was the capital of the confederacy, the social sphere comprised names of honor and fame from other parts of the country. By the presence of the congress in the city, some of the most eminent of the statesmen and generals of "the old thirteen" who had helped to vindicate the independence and lay deep the foundation of the republic, mingled with her sons and daughters. Among the names of Mrs. Jay's list, therefore, may be found those of John Langdon and Paine Wingate, from New Hampshire; the former to be the first president of the United States Senate in 1789, biding the arrival of John Adams; the latter destined to reach the extraordinary age of ninety-nine years, having been born in 1739 and dying in 1838; Roger Sherman and Benjamin Huntington of Connecticut; Elias Boudinot and John Cadwallader of New Jersey; Robert Morris and George Read of Pennsylvania; Charles Carroll of Maryland; William Grayson, Theodoric Bland, and James Madison of Virginia; Pierce Butler, Ralph Izard, Daniel Huger, and Thomas Tudor Tucker of South Carolina; and William Few of Georgia. Truly a brilliant galaxy of names, well known, just fresh from the political and military fields of contest, and adding now, or soon to add, new laurels to their fame in the more subtle conflicts which were to construct and perpetuate a strong federal republic out of the feeble and incoherent materials of the confederation of thirteen states.¹

These gentlemen were, in many cases, accompanied by their families, representing in part the higher circles of New England, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and the South. The letters of the day which have been preserved,

¹ Among the prominent members of the Continental Congress of this period who were well known in New York society were John Hancock, Theodore Sedgwick, and Rufus King, of Massachusetts; John L. Lawrence, Melanthon Smith, and Peter W. Yates, of New York; Lambert Cadwallader, John Cleve Symmes, and Josiah Hornblower, of New Jersey; Colonel John Bayard, William Henry, General Arthur St. Clair, and James Wilson, of Pennsylvania; James Monroe and Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia; and Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina.



Elias Boudinot

both of Americans and Frenchmen, allude frequently to the grace, beauty, and attractiveness of many women then in society. Among them were Lady Mary Watts and Lady Kitty Duer—in reality, and according to a more republican nomenclature, Mrs. John Watts and Mrs. William Duer. They were the daughters of William Alexander, real, or at least titular,



*John Bayard*¹

been referred to. We may mention briefly Mrs. James Beekman, who was Miss Janet Keteltas; Mrs. Theodore Sedgwick, formerly Miss Pamela Dwight; and Miss Wolcott of Connecticut, who afterward became Mrs. Chauncey Goodrich.

To the groups already presented there must be added one that formed a very essential element of social life in that day, namely, the small circle of diplomats accredited to the United States, among whom may be logically counted also the occasional European travelers who were attracted by the rising greatness of the young republic, and from whose memoirs may be gathered so vivid a picture of the social events at which they assisted and the "society people" whom they met. We are enabled to

¹ Colonel John Bayard was born in 1738, and died in 1807. He distinguished himself during the Revolution, and in 1785 was elected a member of the Continental Congress. He was descended from Stuyvesant's sister, and was the representative of the oldest branch of the Bayard family.

look in upon one of these events by means of the dinner-list and of a letter written by a lady who was a participant. Mrs. William S. Smith, the daughter of John Adams, writes to her mother and tells her that Mrs. Jay gives a dinner to the diplomatic corps on Tuesday evening of every week. On May 20, 1788, this lady attended one of these dinners, and on the next day discourses of it in the following style: "Yesterday we dined at Mrs. Jay's in company with the whole *corps diplomatique*. Mr. Jay is a most pleasing man, plain in his manners, but kind, affectionate, and attentive; benevolence is stamped in every feature. Mrs. Jay dresses showily, but is very pleasing on a first acquaintance. The dinner was *à la Française*, and exhibited more of European taste than I expected to find."

Now let us observe who were actually present at this dinner. Attention is due first of all to the president of congress, Cyrus Griffin. On the list he is often merely referred to as president, or Mr. President, so that, if dates are not watched closely, we are apt to think of the great Washington. Griffin's position in the country and in society deserves a moment's consideration. He was undoubtedly the first citizen. Brissot de Warville, the stanch French republican, happy to be in a country where his fond ideals were in actual operation, says of the office: "A president of congress is far from being surrounded with the splendor of European monarchs; and so much the better. He is not durable in his station; and so much the better. He never forgets that he is a simple citizen, and will soon return to the station of one. He does not give pompous dinners; and so much the better. He has fewer parasites, and less means of corruption." The vivacious Frenchman might have added another *tant mieux* to the last item. But although one of these characteristic comments was attached to the lack of pompous dinners, still Mr. Griffin felt called upon to give dinners of some kind. At one of these Brissot was present, and he has recorded that fact with some circumspectness. "I should still be wanting in gratitude," he says, "should I neglect to mention the politeness and attention showed me by the president of



MRS. JAMES BEEKMAN.

congress, Mr. Griffin. He is a Virginian, of very good abilities, of an agreeable figure, affable, and polite. . . . I remarked that his table was freed from many usages observed elsewhere; no fatiguing presentations, no toasts, so despairing in a numerous society. Little wine was drank after the women had retired. These traits will give you an idea of the temperance of this country: temperance, the leading virtue of republicans."

The president was, of course, accompanied by his lady, sometimes playfully called the "presidentess" in the correspondence of those days. Passing now to the American guests before we single out the diplomats, we notice that, besides Mrs. William S. Smith and her husband, there are General James Armstrong, the defender of Germantown in 1777; Mr. Arthur Lee, active in diplomatic work abroad during the Revolution; Mr. and Lady Mary Watts; their son and daughter-in-law; Mr. William Birmingham, of Philadelphia, reputed the richest man in Pennsylvania, and celebrated for the magnificent hospitality dispensed by him and his beautiful wife at their own home; Mr. Daniel McCormick, and Mr. John Kean, delegate to the Continental Congress since 1785 from South Carolina, yet voting against the extension of slavery to the northwestern territory.

First among the diplomats on the list, and presumably at the dinner on this 20th of May, appears the minister of France, the Marquis de Moustier. Éléonore François Elie, Marquis de Moustier, was sent to America in 1787. Throughout his career he was a devoted and self-sacrificing adherent of the Bourbons, and suffered greatly on that account. But it led him into the mistake of making himself disagreeable in his official capacity here, inasmuch as he gave too much evidence of despising the republic which his own master had helped to establish. Yet, whether a welcome guest or not, as a member of the diplomatic corps he could not well be left out of the invitations. Quite different was the case with Don Diego de Gardoqui. "In the summer of 1785 the Court of Spain appointed practically a resident minister to the United States, though under the modest title of *encargado de negocios*, with a view to settle the controversy about the navigation of the Mississippi, which had been guaranteed to the United States by the treaty of peace; also to arrange a commercial treaty."¹ Though representing a more intense despotism, and a government which had diligently shunned all intercourse with our country during the war, De Gardoqui became exceedingly popular in New York, and his departure in 1789 was greatly regretted. He resided at No. 1 Broadway, and De Moustier was a neighbor, his house also facing the Bowling Green. The Spanish diplomat seems to have been unaccompanied by a lady,

¹ George Pellew's *John Jay*, p. 232.

but with the French minister came his sister, the Marquise de Brehan; a near relative of hers must have been the Comte de Brehan, who also appears on the list for this date, unless it is in error about the title; perhaps the "comte" was really the Marquis de Brehan and the brother-in-law of De Moustier; or the marquise was only a comtesse. Besides the minister, France had a *chargé d'affaires* to represent her, M. Louis G. Otto. He had come to America in 1779, and evidently liked republican ways and people, for he married Miss Livingston, a relative of Mrs. Jay's. He afterward became Count de Mosloy. A sister republic was among the first to recognize the American commonwealth, and the ink was hardly dry upon the treaty of 1783 when Francis P. Van Berckel presented his credentials as minister plenipotentiary from the United Netherlands to the United States. He was a widower, but the honors of his domestic establishment were borne by his daughter, Miss Van Berckel. There was as yet no minister from England, but the nearest in rank and functions to that position was that of consul-general, and Sir John Temple held that office at this time. He had been lieutenant-governor of New Hampshire from 1761 to 1774, and, strangely enough, in view of his present post, was removed for too great an "inclination toward the American cause." He was a native of this country, and had married a daughter of Governor James Bowdoin of Massachusetts. They were at the dinner of May 20.

Among the distinguished foreigners on Mrs. Jay's list is found the name of M. Brissot de Warville, from whose well-known work on America we have already quoted more than once. It was written on his return to Europe; and while the first volume (in the English translation) is devoted to an interesting account of his voyage to and experiences in this country, the second treats almost exclusively of commercial matters. He had come

¹ The portrait of Sir John has been copied from a photograph, made in 1890, of the original painting in the possession of his grandson, the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, of Boston, Mass. That of Lady Temple was made in like manner from a photograph of the original in the possession of her grandson, the late Grenville Temple Winthrop, now in the keeping of Hon. Robert C. Winthrop. These paintings are from the hand of the celebrated portrait-painter, Gilbert Stuart. The death of Sir John occurred in 1798. Lady Temple died in 1809.



J. Temple.

over especially to make a study of these, in order to establish, if possible, improved mercantile relations between France and America. Brissot had been bred to the profession of the law, but in the stirring times preceding the revolution had drifted into journalism. When the outbreak finally occurred he was on the side of conservative patriotism, and of the party of the Girondists. He opposed the execution of the king, and in consequence he, together with several other Girondists, was arrested on October 3, 1793, and guillotined on the 31st. Brissot had brought to Mr. Jay from La Fayette a letter commending him as a writer on the side of liberty,

and as one of the founders of the society in behalf of the blacks; for Jay was well known to be an anti-slavery man. On September 2, 1788, he dined at the secretary's table.

A marked influence was wrought upon the social world in New York by the inauguration of the federal government, and the residence here of the President of the United States. With the latter's advent, the prominence of Jay, especially as regards diplomatic connections, gave way to the distinctive, as well as distinguished, head of the republic. And from the social standpoint it is interesting to consider, first of all, the discussion which took place about the title, or mode of address, proper to the President. Some suggested "Most Serene Highness," or "Serene Highness," thinking it a safe appellation, inasmuch as none of the rulers

in Europe bore it. Madison gave it as his opinion that the chief magistrate should be spoken of simply as the President. General Muhlenberg, with an eye to the high-sounding title assumed by the States General of the Dutch republic, suggested "High Mightiness"; but Washington was never quite certain whether Muhlenberg was in jest or in earnest. Speaking on the subject at the President's table, Muhlenberg remarked, aptly: "If the office could always be held by men as large as yourself, it would be appropriate; but if by chance a president as small as my opposite neighbor were elected [he might have referred to Hamilton] it would be ridiculous." Bancroft informs us that when the style, "The President of the United



E. Temple.

States of America," was determined on, "the clause that his title should be 'His Excellency' was still suffered to linger in the draft."¹ This unwritten and therefore extra-constitutional title, however, was the one finally determined upon. In the furor of French sympathy excited by the first outburst of the revolution, the adherents of the democratic clubs inveighed against this title.

Their republican wrath rose also to a high pitch of fervor against the President's receptions, which society, at its own instance, called "levees," smacking thus most unsavorily of monarchical institutions in Europe. The stately and majestic President loved these courtly manners. When he had a message to deliver to congress, he did not intrust it to a page or a messenger, but rode to Federal Hall in a coach and six, with outriders besides. Yet he could be plain in his own house, as befitting the American Cincinnatus. Mr. Paine Wingate tells of a dinner the day after Mrs. Washington had arrived in New York: "The chief said grace, and dined on boiled leg of mutton. After dessert, one glass of wine was offered to each guest, and when it had been drunk, the President rose and led the way to the drawing-room." The President's "levees" were held on Tuesday afternoon; Mrs. Washington received on Friday evening, from eight to ten o'clock. At the levees, we are told, "there were no places for the intrusion of the rabble in crowds, or for the mere coarse and boisterous partisan, the vulgar electioneerer, or the impudent place-hunter, with boots, frock-coats, or roundabouts, or with patched knees and holes at both elbows. On the contrary, they were select and more courtly than have been given by any of the President's successors. None were admitted to the levees but those who had either a right by official station, or by established merit and character; and full dress was required of all."

It need not be said here that President Washington resided at first in the Franklin house, on the present Franklin square, corner of Cherry street. The huge bridge now has one of its piers standing on or near the spot, and the house has disappeared. Later, he occupied the Macomb house, at 39 Broadway, because the other was inconveniently "far out of town." And we are fortunate in having a minute account of the house of one of the cabinet officers, the secretary of war, Major-General Henry Knox, situated at No. 4 Broadway. It was advertised for sale in 1789, "a four-story brick house on the west side of Broadway [No. 4 at present is on the east side], 31½ feet wide by 60 feet deep, containing two rooms of thirty feet in length, one of twenty-six, three of twenty-three feet." Ample opportunity, therefore, in this generous

¹ *History of the United States*, 6: 342 (ed. 1883).

mansion for the gatherings of the society of a capital; for there was a limit to the number that could claim to form a part of it then as now. To-day there are the "four hundred"; in Washington's day it was not far below that figure. "Fashionable society in New York in 1789," says Thomas E. V. Smith, "seems to have consisted of about three hundred persons, as that number attended a ball on the 7th of May, at which Washington was present." But the "three hundred" out of a population of not quite sixty thousand was a considerably larger proportion than that of the "four hundred" to nearly two millions.

At these gay assemblies the dress worn by ladies and gentlemen was modeled then, as now, after the fashions prevailing in London and Paris.



PHILIP LIVINGSTON.¹

Brissot de Warville observes: "If there is a town on the American continent where the English luxury displays its follies, it is New York. You will find here the English fashions. In the dress of the women you will see the most brilliant silks, gauzes, hats, and borrowed hair. The men have more simplicity in their dress." But that France also contributed to set the fashion of that day in New York we may gather from the *New York Gazette* of May 15, 1789, describing several costumes imported from Paris. "One was a plain celestial blue satin gown with a white satin petticoat. There was worn with it, on the neck, a very large Italian gauze handkerchief with satin border stripes. The head-dress with this costume was a pouf of gauze in the form of a globe, the *creneaux*, or head-piece, of which was made of white satin having a double wing, in large plaits, and trimmed with a large wreath of artificial roses which fell from the left at the top to the right at the bottom in front, and the reverse behind. The hair was dressed all over in detached curls, four of

¹ Philip Livingston, the second Lord of the Manor, was born at Albany, July 9, 1686. Was deputy secretary of Indian affairs, and afterward (in 1722) secretary. Was a member of the provincial assembly from Albany in 1709, and county clerk in 1721-49. He married Catharine Van Brugh of Albany, and during the later years of his life entertained with great magnificence. He died in New York city, February 4, 1749.

which fell on each side of the neck and were relieved behind by a floating chignon. . . . The newest costume consisted of a perriot and petticoat of gray striped silk trimmed with gauze cut in points. A large gauze handkerchief bordered with four satin stripes was worn with it on the neck, and the head-dress was a plain gauze cap such as was worn by nuns. Shoes were made of celestial blue satin with rose-colored rosettes."¹

As for the gentlemen, they wore very long blue riding-coats, the buttons of which were of steel, the vest, or waistcoat, being at the same time of scarlet color, and the knee-breeches yellow. The shoes were tied with strings, and low; but gaiters were fastened above them, running up nearly to the knee, and made of polished leather. But for evening dress the gaiters were omitted, and the legs (more or less genuine as to shape) were incased in silk stockings. It was not until toward the end of the century that material modifications in the dress of gentlemen occurred. The hair was no longer powdered, nor worn long and tied in a queue at the back. The locks were worn short, or at a length considered proper to-day. For the close-fitting knee-breeches and stockings or gaiters upon the legs, loose pantaloons reaching to the shoe were substituted. "The women in 1800 wore hoops, high-heeled shoes of black stuffs, with silk or thread stockings, and had their hair tortured for hours at a sitting to get the curls properly crisped. The hoops were succeeded by 'bishops' stuffed with horse-hair. In the early days ladies who kept their coaches often went to church in check aprons; and Watson mentions a lady in Philadelphia who went to a ball, in full dress, on horseback."² About the same time, dark or black cloth took the place of colored stuffs for the dress of gentlemen.

Perhaps it will be of interest to conclude this review of New York society with two brief glimpses into the actual doings of people in high life, one of a private and familiar nature, the other a celebrated public occasion. While Mr. Jay was absent in England on the special mission, Mrs. Jay wrote to him as follows: "Last Monday the President went to Long Island to pass a week there. On Wednesday, Mrs. Washington called upon me to go with her to wait upon Miss Van Berckel, and on Thursday morning, agreeable to invitation, myself and the little girls took an early breakfast with her, and then went with her and her little grandchildren to breakfast at General Morris's, Morrisania. We passed together a very agreeable day, and on our return dined with her, as she would not

¹ Smith's *New York in 1789*, p. 95.

² Mrs. Ellet, *Queens of American Society*, p. 149.



THE TEMPLE ARMS.

take a refusal. After which I came home to dress, and she was so polite as to take coffee with me in the evening." The other picture presents a fashionable ball given by the French ambassador, the Marquis de Moustier, at his residence opposite the Bowling Green, on May 14, 1789. Although a despiser of republics in theory, he could not very well avoid doing the honors of his nation to the great chief of the American commonwealth, who had been inaugurated two weeks before, and his manner of doing it was altogether worthy of France. Elias Boudinot of New Jersey, writing of it to a friend, spoke enthusiastically of his experiences there; and as his description has all the flavor of a contemporary and an eye-witness, we give it as it appeared in Griswold's *Republican Court*:

"After the President came, a company of eight couple formed in the other room and entered, two by two, and began a most curious dance called *En Ballet*. Four of the gentlemen were dressed in French regimentals and four in American uniforms; four of the ladies with blue ribbons round their heads and American flowers, and four with red roses and flowers of France. These danced in a very curious manner, sometimes two and two, sometimes four couple



RESIDENCE OF LORD STIRLING.

and four couple, and then in a moment altogether, which formed great entertainment for the spectators, to show the happy union between the two nations. Three rooms were filled, and the fourth was most elegantly set off as a place for refreshment. A long table crossed this room from wall to wall. The whole wall inside was covered with shelves filled with cakes, oranges, apples, wines of all sorts, ice-creams, etc., and highly lighted up. A number of servants from behind the table supplied the guests with everything they wanted, from time to time, as they came in to refresh themselves, which they did as often as a party had done dancing, and made way for another. We retired about ten o'clock, in the height of the jollity."

We may properly take leave of New York society at a reception, or levee, at the President's house in Broadway. He stands in the midst of a brilliant circle of ladies and gentlemen. As guests are presented, he does not shake hands, but receives them with a dignified bow. He is attired in black velvet coat and knee breeches, a white or pearl-colored waistcoat showing finely underneath the dark and flowing outer garment. Silver buckles glitter at the knees and upon the shoes. A long sword hangs by his side, bright, with a finely wrought steel hilt. It is the mark of the gentleman of the day, and need not recall the soldier amid these peaceful surroundings. Yellow gloves adorn the hands that struck so bravely for liberty. With a lingering look of affection and admiration upon the noblest American that ever breathed, we pass out of the assembly-room, and the shadowy forms of the past dissolve. The plain present is upon us, a city huge and magnificent, a society possessing a wealth then never dreamed of, but adorned by no immortal names. Yet these are not "the times that try men's souls;" and, moving under brilliant exteriors, there may be hearts as noble and natures as brave, to be called forth when the needs of the country shall demand it.



LA TOUR AND ACADIA

IN THE SUFFOLK DEEDS

BY A. E. ALLABEN

In the Acadian land, on the shores of the Basin of Midas,
Distant, secluded, still, the little village of Grand-Pré
Lay in a fruitful valley.

The destruction of this Acadian village and the unhappy deportation of its inhabitants are pathetically pictured in Longfellow's *Evangeline*. The incident is historical. The sufferers were simple French peasants and fur-traders. The conquerors who dispossessed and scattered the villagers, who confiscated their lands and burned their cottages, were English. In the poem the act appears barbarous and desperately cruel, and in this light many historians present it. But there is another side to the story. For forty years these unreconciled Acadians had rejected all kindly overtures of the English government, losing no opportunity to vent their sleepless hostility. They still refused the oath of allegiance, and their removal seemed a military and political necessity.

The incident is remote; it occurred in 1755, yet the country, always in dispute between the French and English, had already been occupied by the French for one hundred and fifty years.

"The Basin of Midas," upon whose shores lay this prosperous hamlet, is the eastern arm or inlet of the bay of Fundy (Le Grande Baie Française, of the French), whose waters had already been the scene of contentions, of romantic hopes, brave endeavors, and cruel disappointments. Next in importance to Port Royal (on the present bay of Annapolis), and a key to the country, is the St. John river where it enters the sea, a spot occupied by Fort La Tour as early as 1635. Connected with this point is a remarkable history. Of especial interest is the fact that the region in the early day stood not only in intimate relation to the New England colonies, but also that this strategic point of *Evangeline's* country, with a goodly portion of adjacent lands, was under mortgage in due form to a citizen of Boston. The quaint and curious documents relating to the transaction are still preserved in the Suffolk Records. Furthermore, by an endorsement or memorandum upon the instrument itself, it appears, that, by expiration of the given time and in default of payment, a ceremony of

foreclosure of some sort occurred. Whether this was, as the bond recites, a "liuery & seizin of the sajd bargained premisses according to the Ceremony vsed in England in Cases of the like nature," putting the mortgagee into "full and peaceable possession," we cannot be entirely assured, yet so the memorandum declares in the following words:

"Memorand that vppon the day of sale seizin & peaceable possession of y^e fort & lands wthin specified was had taken & deliuered according to the tennor purport and effect of the deed wthin specified in the pr^{se}nce of ys on ye backsides."

Unfortunately the names of those witnesses "on y^e backsides" have not been recorded, and under the circumstances we will be justified in believing that the procedure was as regular, "according to the Ceremony vsed in England," as the times, place, and peculiar state of the case would admit. At all events the maker of the instrument had clear titles to what he conveyed under patents only one remove from the kings both of France and England; by the records the heirs of "Serjeant major Edward Gibbons of Boston in New England Esq^r" have a fair legal showing should they lay claim to the mouth of the river St. John in New Brunswick, a tract containing four hundred and fifty square miles; or twice as much, if both sides of the river were intended. The grant was made to Charles Stephen de St. Estienne Lord de La Tour, upon January 15, 1635, together with a commission as lieutenant-general for the French king "on the coast of Acadia in New France." This was a renewal of a like commission given to Lord La Tour, February 11, 1631. Still earlier he had established a trading-post and built Fort St. Louis at Port La Tour near Cape Sable, where by his fidelity and spirit he won the commendation of the French government.

The mortgage-deed, already alluded to, by no means covers the only transaction made with New Englanders by La Tour and his wife, the brave, enterprising Lady La Tour. No less than ten instruments of different date, under the hand of one or both, are preserved in the Suffolk Records. They are inserted with little regard to the chronological order of the transactions, and for a clear understanding of these curious and highly interesting documents they must be rearranged and woven into the life histories of the La Tours.

Acadia, as the French understood it, included the present Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the greater part of the state of Maine, reaching westward to the Kennebec, and forming a very considerable portion of New France. The Barony of New Scotland, as mapped by Sir William Alexander, under the charters of James I. and Charles I., covered at the same

time substantially the same area. New England also claimed the country as far east as the St. Croix, the boundary finally secured by the treaty of Paris in 1783. Pemaquid and Penobscot were at various times held by the French. During the French and Indian war the contest of the French under Frontenac for possession of Acadia was wholly with the "Bostonians," or people of New England.

There were two La Tours, Claude and Charles, father and son. We are chiefly concerned with the son, yet some notice of Claude seems necessary. Claude de St. Estienne Sieur de La Tour, a French Huguenot allied to the noble house of Bouillon, having lost the greater part of his estates in the civil war, came to Acadia about the year 1609 with his son Charles, then fourteen years of age. He traded at Port Royal (now Annapolis) till that settlement was wantonly broken up by Argal, admiral for the Virginia colony. He then erected a fort and trading-house at the mouth of the Penobscot, where he remained till dispossessed by the Plymouth colony in 1626. In the meantime his son Charles allied himself with Biencourt, the son of Poutrincourt, who had founded Port Royal in 1605. Charles St. Stephen de St. Estienne, Sieur (or Lord) de La Tour, whose full name and title is here given once for all, became Biencourt's lieutenant and inseparable friend. After the outrageous raid of Argal they lived some years together among the Indians, and young Biencourt dying in 1623 bequeathed to Charles La Tour his rights in Port Royal derived from his father Poutrincourt, who had his title from De Monts, a grant confirmed to him also by the French king in 1607.

About 1625 Charles married a French Huguenot lady, Françoise Marie Jacquelain, who became the real heroine of Acadia, the first and greatest that land has ever known. The sober truth of this lady's energy, courage, constancy, sufferings, and pathetic end, is no whit inferior to the poetic picture of the mythical *Evangeline*. She lived a full century before the time of Longfellow's story, but scarcely a hundred miles from the home of his heroine, the distance across the bay between the rivers of St. John and Gaspereaux.

Soon after his marriage Charles La Tour left Port Royal and built Fort St. Louis at Point La Tour, only a few miles from Cape Sable. Two years later, in 1627, war was again declared between France and England. Of course, the quarrels of the mother countries always gave rein to unfriendly schemes of their weak, scattered, but intensely jealous colonies. Charles La Tour, realizing the feeble hold of the French upon Acadia, and the danger of assault, sent an urgent request to France by Claude, his father, for a commission for himself and reënforcements for his fort. The request

was headed; but the entire outfit (eighteen vessels, one hundred and thirty-five cannon, with a large supply of ammunition) fell into the hands of Sir David Kirk, who sent Claude La Tour a prisoner to England. Kirk took possession of Port Royal, and in 1629 captured Quebec. Claude speedily became a great favorite in England. He married one of the queen's maids of honor; and Sir William Alexander, who established a Scotch colony at Port Royal, made him a baron of New Scotland, conferring the same order also upon his son. With the honor came a great tract of land from Yarmouth to Lunenburg along the eastern coast of Nova Scotia, about four thousand five hundred square miles. This was to be divided between father and son, forming the two baronies of St. Estienne and La Tour. In consideration of such favors Claude engaged to plant a colony and to secure his son's fort, St. Louis, for Great Britain. He came with ships, colonists, soldiers, and supplies. But Charles said his allegiance belonged to France, and not even for the entreaties or threats of a father would he betray his country's interest. At length in desperation the elder La Tour ordered two attacks, which were both gallantly repulsed. The commandant of the ship refused to make a third attempt, and sailed away to Port Royal. This was in 1630. Sir William's parchment baronetcy had been conferred upon La Tour the elder in the November previous under the style of Claude St. Estienne, Signeur de La Tour, and upon the younger in May of this same year, as Charles St. Estienne, Signeur de St. Denis Court. At this time England had possession of all Acadia and New France, save two small posts. But the following year, in concluding peace, under pressure from his royal cousin of France, who threatened else to withhold Queen Henrietta Maria's portion (four hundred thousand crowns), Charles I. weakly surrendered the whole. He informed Sir William Alexander, then Earl of Stirling, to whom he had by charter given such wide territories and remarkable powers, that Port Royal, his one poor colony, must be surrendered to the French, and the fort demolished. So collapsed that nobleman's enthusiastic schemes of colonization; and the newly created barons of New Scotland were left suspended in air, without country or estates. The formal engagement, the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, which insured this miscarriage of large promises and high hopes, was signed in March, 1632.¹

¹ This was a comprehensive scheme. Sir William received almost regal powers over "the Lordship and Barony of New Scotland in America" (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Cape Breton), to which was added a little later "the County and Lordship of Canady" (the present state of Maine, east of the Kennebec and north to the St. Lawrence, then called the great River of Canada). "Also that island Matowack or Long Island," described as reaching from the Hudson river to the Connecticut, and thereafter to be called "the Isle of Starlinge." Nor yet did Sir

Meantime Charles La Tour, after his gallant defense of Fort St. Louis, and the striking proof of fidelity to his country's cause, was encouraged by the arrival, in 1630, of two French ships with reënforcements, supplies, and a letter of hearty commendation and confidence, telling him to build dwellings and forts wherever he found it advantageous or convenient. Claude La Tour, sorely disappointed and distressed by his own failure to bring his son to terms, and doubtless ill at ease in the Scotch colony under such circumstances of failure and almost disgrace, gladly accepted an invitation to return to Fort St. Louis and his French allegiance. Thence he was sent with a force to establish a post and build a strong fort at the mouth of the St. John. February 11, 1631, Charles La Tour's courage and patriotism were further recognized in France by the above-named commission making him the king's lieutenant-general in Acadia. Four years after, this commission was reaffirmed in connection with a grant of the "Fort & Habitation of La Tour on the River St. John with lands adjacent having a frontage of five leagues on the river and extending ten leagues back into the country." He had transferred his residence to this place while his father took command at Fort St. Louis.

Fort La Tour on the St. John was a structure one hundred and eighty feet square, with four bastions and inclosed with palisades. It stood on the west side of the harbor, which it commanded toward the south, as also a good stretch of the river northward. Here this chivalrous pioneer lord lived with his devoted wife, like a feudal baron, surrounded by a large retinue of soldiers and retainers. The peltries taken in barter from the savages, and sold in France at a large profit, secured not only the necessities but William's limitless desire and King Charles's prodigal generosity stop with such known and somewhat definite bounds. The grant also includes fifty leagues on both sides of "the River of Canada" (the St. Lawrence) as well as an equal breadth on all its tributaries, even to the discovery of "the South Sea, from which the head or source of that great River or Gulf of Canada, or some river flowing into it, is deemed to be not far distant" . . . "up to the head, fountain and source thereof wheresoever it be, or the lake whence it flows (which is thought to be toward the Gulf of California, called by some the Vermilion Sea"), . . . "likewise all and sundry islands lying within the said Gulf of California; as also all and whole the lands and bounds adjacent to the said Gulf on the West and South whether they be found a part of the continent or mainland or an island (as it is thought they are) which is commonly called and distinguished by the name of California."—*Novadamus Charter*, July 12, 1625.

For this vast domain, real and imaginary, Sir William Alexander was to pay a quit-rent of one penny Scots on the soil of New Scotland on the festival of the nativity of Christ if demanded. To facilitate the settlement he was empowered to create the order of "Knights Baronet of New Scotland," to be bestowed upon one hundred and fifty gentlemen, together with a tract of land to each containing eighteen square miles. Between the years 1625-1635 of such barons thirty-four were created for New Brunswick, fifteen for Nova Scotia, twenty-four for Cape Breton, and thirty-four for the great island of Anticosti.

also many luxuries not produced at home, while the forests abounded in game, and the water with fowl and fish. Explorations, the chase, and occasional warlike expeditions added the spice of adventure to this life of rude splendor and plenty. But this happy picture could not last. Even the vast reaches of a new and mainly unappropriated world were not ample enough to meet the insatiable greed of the adventurers who resorted to these shores.

The very year of the beginning of the war of 1627 the grand "Company of New France" was organized, including in its directorship Richelieu, De Rizilly, and Champlain. Upon the restoration of peace, arrangements for colonizing Acadia were made with new energy and zeal, and on a scale not before attempted. Isaac de Rizilly was in charge, and with him came Charles de Menou, Seigneur d'Aulnay de Charnisay, destined to become the rival and deadly enemy of Charles La Tour. In 1635 Charnisay was sent to Penobscot, which he seized and fortified. The following year De Rizilly died, and Charnisay presently succeeded to his interests in Acadia, which broad and diversified country soon proved quite too narrow for this intriguing adventurer and his enterprising countryman already established at St. John. The two men were totally unlike and could not fail to antagonize each other. Charnisay's headquarters at Port Royal were within the especial bounds of La Tour's command, while the latter's seat at St. John lay within Charnisay's jurisdiction. While La Tour quietly attended to his own affairs, Charnisay began his intrigues in France with the purpose of supplanting La Tour and driving him from the country. Securing the favor of Richelieu, in 1641 he finally obtained an order commanding La Tour to embark and return to France to answer charges. A few days later the king revoked La Tour's commission as lieutenant-general, which La Tour had so honorably won and so manfully defended for twelve years. Charnisay was empowered to execute the order, seize La Tour's person, and inventory his effects in the interest of the government.

This was a terrible stroke to La Tour. He utterly refused to embark in the vessel sent for him, and Charnisay did not venture to attack the fort. He sent back a report of La Tour's defiance of the king's order, and presently went to France to strengthen himself at court, and get assistance for making the arrest.

In this extremity La Tour turned to the people of New England. He sent a French Huguenot named Rochette as his agent. The citizens of Boston had great confidence in La Tour, and were quite as distrustful of his rival. Still they would promise only an amicable arrangement for trade. The following year he sent his lieutenant to Boston with a second

request for assistance. The Boston authorities and citizens entirely sympathized with him against his adversary, but were not willing to be embroiled in the affair by openly and officially espousing La Tour's cause. The merchants as a private enterprise sent out a vessel with supplies for Fort La Tour and to trade with other points. On the return this ship stopped at Pemaquid, where Charnisay showed the master his order for La Tour's arrest, which had been renewed in February, 1642. In France he had not been idle. He had perfected his title to Isaac de Rizilly's estate, and borrowing upon it two hundred and sixty thousand livres fitted out five ships with five hundred men. La Tour dispatched Rochette to the city of Rochelle in France. The Rochelle Huguenots promptly fitted out a large vessel called the *Clement*, which, manned by one hundred and forty armed men, they sent to his assistance. Meantime Charnisay with his fleet besieged Fort La Tour. The *Clement* could not enter the harbor to relieve the fort, since the entrance was guarded by two ships and a galiot; but La Tour, escaping the vigilance of the blockading squadron, stole out in his shallop by night, boarded the *Clement*, and set sail for Boston. Upon the morning of June 12, 1643, the good citizens of that place were astonished to see a large armed vessel, a formidable stranger, letting go her anchors in their harbor.¹

La Tour again appealed to the governor and council. The captain of the *Clement* showed papers, dated the previous April under the hand of the vice-admiral of France, authorizing him to carry supplies to La Tour as lieutenant-general of Acadia; also a letter from the agent of the Company of New France, informing him of Charnisay's plot, and advising him to take care of himself, and again addressing him as lieutenant-general for the king. The Massachusetts authorities were convinced of La Tour's standing, and gave him all encouragement short of an actual official

¹ This sudden entry of La Tour's battle-ship caused great consternation. The place was utterly defenseless—both city and shipping quite at the mercy of the stranger. La Tour in a boat hailed Mrs. Gibbons, who with a few attendants was just returning from some short trip by water, and sought to converse with her. Her party in a fright drew up to the Governor's landing and hastened to his mansion, where La Tour and his men appeared almost at the same time. There was a call to arms in the city, and an escort or guard was hastily called out and dispatched to the governor. At this distance the alarm seems almost ludicrous. The practical Winthrop, with his usual candor, confessed the deplorable condition of "the coast-defense."

"But here," he says, "the Lord gave us occasion to take notice of our weakness &c., for if La Tour had been ill minded toward us, he had such an opportunity as we hope neither he nor any other shall ever have the like again. . . . Then having the Governor and his family and Captain Gibbon's wife etc. in his power he might have gone and spoiled Boston; and having so many men ready they might have taken two ships in the harbor and gone away without danger or resistance."—*Winthrop's Journal*.

espousal of his cause. It is at this point that La Tour appears in the Suffolk Records. The merchants were quite at liberty to assist him, and a fleet of four vessels properly fitted, armed, and manned, under the command of Thomas Hawkins, were furnished him on conditions named in a long and explicit contract, from which portions only can here be quoted. It begins as follows:¹

" Articles of Agreement Indented and made the thirtieth day of June Anno dom 1643 betweene mounseir Latour knight of the order² of the king Leftenant Gennerall of new france of the one party, And Captaine Edward Gibbons and Thomas Hawkins merchant and parte owners of the good shipp called the seabridge the shipp phillip and mary the shipp Increase the shipp Greyhound all of them of the massachusetts bay in New England of the other party In behalf of themselves and of their partners, have let to freight to the sd mounseir dela Tour all the sd shippes in manner and vpon Condicons following,

I. first the sd Edward Gibbons and Thomas Hawkins and ther Assignes in the behalfe of the owners of the shipp seabridge doe Couenant and promise that the sd shipp shall be compleatly fitted with a master and fowerteene able seamen, and a boy, with fowerteene piecee of Ordinance, with powder and shott fitt for them, with tackle and Apparrell victualls for the sd sixteene men for two months time from the tenth day of July next."

Sections two and three provide in like terms for the *Philip and Mary* a crew of sixteen, for the *Increase* fourteen, and for each " tenn picee of ordinance " with supplies. The next specification is :

" That the shipp Greyhound shall be Compleatly fitted with fower murderers : and powder and shott fitting for them, with tackle apparrell and victualls fitting for eight men : viz a master and seven able seamen with the sd shipp, Compleatly for two months from the tenth day of July next.

These ships ' shall be by the Providence of God (the winde and weather serving) bee ready vpon demaund to sett sajle ' from Boston Roades at the date named above ; ' and from thence by God's Grace shall directly saile In Company with the shipp clement appertaining to the sd mounseir de la Tour ; And further we promise to Joyne with the sd shipp clement In the defence of ourselves, and the sd mounseir La Tour ; against mounseir dony [D'Aulnay], his forces or any that shall vnjustly assault.'

On his part La Tour agrees to furnish twenty English soldiers, armed and provisioned at his own cost, for each of the three larger vessels, and eight for the smaller *Greyhound*.³ He also has the privilege of putting on board his own French soldiers not to exceed ten for each vessel. He is to pay for the *Seabridge* two hundred pounds per month, for the *Philip and Mary* one hundred and twenty pounds per month, for the *Increase* one hundred and fifty pounds, and for the *Greyhound* fifty pounds, " in

¹ Suffolk Deeds, Lib. I., p. 7.

² We learn from Winthrop that these English soldiers engaged for forty shillings, or nine dollars and sixty-eight cents, per month.

peltry at the prize Currant as at the tyme of pajment, they shall beare at Boston,"—this for a cruise of two months, without reduction of pay for any shortening of the time. La Tour is to furnish the ammunition, but the cost of that actually used is to be deducted from the ship-rent. Lastly

" what Pillage and spoile or goods shall be taken by the afore named shipp clement and the sd foure English shippes or either of them shall be aequally divided among the merchants ouners mariners and souldjers according to the vsual Custome In such voyages And for the true performance according to the true Intent of these presents the sd mounseir Latour doth make ouer to the sd Edward Gibbons and Thomas Hawkins all that his fort in the Riuers of St John, with the gunns pouder and shott therewith belonging ; and all his property in the sajd Riuer, and the Coast of Achady together with all his mooveables and inmooeables therein In wittness hearof the partjes above named have Interchangeably put to their hands and seales

Signed and sealed

De la Tour & a seale

in the p'nce of vs

Robert Keajne W^m Ting
Estienne auprvs "

This expedition proved wholly successful in raising the siege of Fort La Tour and putting Charnisay himself upon the defensive. Upon the appearance of La Tour's fleet the enemy, thoroughly surprised, precipitately took to flight. La Tour pursued, but Charnisay succeeded in making Port Royal (now Annapolis) bay, and ran his ships upon the beach to avoid capture. La Tour desired Captain Hawkins to join in an attack upon Charnisay's forces, who in much disorder were fortifying themselves in the mill. This he refused, but allowed his command to volunteer. About thirty Massachusetts men joined in the attack by which Charnisay was driven from the mill. The fleet returned to Fort La Tour. Falling in with a pinnace belonging to Charnisay, loaded with furs, she was made a prize. The English vessels were paid off and returned to Boston, having been absent only thirty-seven days.

Charnisay, beaten but not crushed, rebuilt the old fort at Port Royal, and presently sailed for France. Lady La Tour also went to France in her husband's interest. Charnisay secured an order for her arrest as involved in La Tour's rebellion. She escaped to England, where she engaged a vessel and freighted it with supplies for Fort La Tour. The master of the ship, in spite of her expostulations, spent so much time in trade by the way that six months were consumed in the passage. When the ship came at length into the bay of Fundy, Charnisay had already returned, and his vessels were on the watch to intercept any relief for La Tour. He over-hauled Lady La Tour's ship, but little suspected the prize he held in his hand. She and her people were hidden in the hold, while the master,

professing to sail an English ship bound for Boston, was suffered to pass on toward that port.

La Tour meantime, discouraged and distressed at his wife's long absence, which now exceeded a year, had set out for Boston, where he arrived in July, 1644. He represented his condition to the governor and magistrates, craving their assistance, and not failing to urge the English title to his possessions by grant from Sir William Alexander. All sympathized with him, but the matter ended as usual without official action in his favor. A merchant vessel, however, sailed with supplies for his fort, and in this case a letter to Charnisay of expostulation was added. With this La Tour had to content himself, and his white sails were hardly out of sight when Lady La Tour's chartered vessel came into Boston harbor.

Lady La Tour promptly entered action, as Winthrop relates, "against Captain Baylye, and the merchant (brother and factor to Alderman Berkley who freighted the ship) for not performing the charter party," and causing the needless detention and peril which she had suffered. She had the captain and merchant arrested, who were compelled to surrender the cargo, valued at £1,100, to deliver their persons from custody. She then employed three vessels to convey her supplies and convoy her home. The contract under which she secured this fleet is also found in the Suffolk Records, and is as follows:

"Know all men by these presents that I francoise mary Jacquelin spouse of charles sieur St Steeven knight of the orders of the king of fraunce Lieutenant in the Coast of the accady of new fraunce by virtue of a procuration given vnto me from my sajd Sr of St Steevens the twenty-seventh of August last past, doe Confesse to have hired of Cap^{me} John Parris three shipps to Convey me to my fort & in consideration of seven hundredth pounds starling wch I promise to pay or cause to be payd by the sajd Sr Called de la Tour forthwith vppon our Arrivall at the fort de la Toure in St Johns Riuers the dischardge of w^t goods I have putt aboard the sajd shipps I do further promise that the pajment of the abovesajd some of seven hundredth pounds shall be payd in Pelleterje moose skines at twenty five shillings pr skin one wth an other marchantable beavor the skins at eight shillings pr pound & Coale at twelve or in other payment of Comoditjes of value farther promising vnto the sajd Cap^{me} Parris that if so be he be not fully satisfyed the above sajd some vppon our Arrival to be liable to make good w^teuer damages may issue through default therof In wittnes whereof I have herevnto signed and sealed made at Boston this eleventh day of december 1644
 francoise marje Jacquelin
 & a seale

In p'rnce of Charles dupre
 Joshua Scotto : Ed. Gibbons "

Lady La Tour made a safe passage with her little fleet and supplies. We can imagine the happy meeting after this long separation, while beset with so many difficulties and dangers. For the time too there was abun-

dance, though not without hint of financial embarrassment. Even the moose-skin and beaver currency gleaned out of the woods did not suffice for the great expenditures of this contest. Hence the following bond:

"St. Johns, December 29, 1644.

I mounseir charles of St Steevens delatoure Knight & Baronet and francois marje Jacquelain doe acknowledg to have Received of M^r John Paris all such goods as came in the three shippes. Cap^t Richardson Capt Thomas Capt Bridecake and his owne but have not given him full satisfaccon, according to his Contract and ou^r obligation, onely he hath received of me a hundred seventy two pounds in beaver sterl^g money and a smale chajne of Gold to the valleju of thirty or fouerty pound which is to be Retourned again In Case it possibly may ; and more besides Wee doe engage ourselves to give satisfaccon vnto major Gibbons for the some specified in the bond ; what he hath received above specified is to be deducted out of the bond of seven hundred pound.

de latour & seale

francois: marje Jacquelain

Signed sealed and
deliuered in the
p^rince of John Pasfeild
Thomas Bredcake "

Marie, Charnisay's agent, had been in Boston at the same time with Lady La Tour, endeavoring to persuade the authorities of La Tour's outlawry and of the impropriety of their maintaining friendly relations with him. However, he only secured a treaty of amity and free commerce between the colony and Charnisay, which that vengeful Frenchman thought of small consequence when he heard of Lady La Tour's success. Indeed, his rage knew no bounds. He wrote an insolent and abusive letter to Governor Winthrop, and soon found opportunity to make his resentment felt.

Although La Tour and his wife had now obtained a temporary success, yet the contest was ruinous to both parties. The enormous expenses and losses, together with the obstruction of his trade, reduced La Tour to poverty. His indebtedness to the Boston merchants only increased ; but they seem to have had unbounded confidence in his integrity. In May of the following spring he owed them more than ten thousand pounds, and he felt constrained to give his creditors the best and only security he could. Hence the famous mortgage deed of Fort La Tour and the adjacent lands at the mouth of the St. John, recorded at length in Suffolk Deeds.¹ Only the first part of this long document is here given, containing a description of the premises conveyed, and the important exception or reservation. It will be observed that the tract excepted embraces seventy-two miles on the eastern coast of Nova Scotia proper, and as much in depth, and hence includes the greater part of the peninsula. It is the grant from Sir Wil-

¹ Lib. I., filling 10 pages of the folio. It has been printed in Hazard's *Historical Collections*, I., 541-544.

liam Alexander to Claude and Charles La Tour, to be divided into the two baronies of St. Estienne and La Tour.

" This Indenture made betweene S^r charles S^r Steephens lord of La Tour in fraunce and Knight Barronet of Scotland of y^e one part and Serjeant major Edward Gibbons of Boston in New-England Esq^r of the othe^r parte wittnesseth that y^e sajd mounseir lord of latour for & in consideration of the full some of two thousand eighty fower pounds To him the sd moun^{er} in hand pajd by the sajd S^r major Gibbons and also for diverse other good causes and Considerations him the sd moun^{er} herevnto especially moving hath Graunted bargained sould enfeoffed and confirmed vnto him the sd S^r major Edward Gibbons his heires and Assignes all that his fort called fort La Toure & plantacon wthin y^e northerne part of america wherein y^e sd moun^{er} together with his family hath of late made his Residence, Scittuate & being at or neere the mouth of a certajne Riuier Called by y^e name of S^r John's Riuier together also with all the Ammunition and weapons of warr or instrument^s of defence & other Implements necessarjes And together also with all the land & Islands Riuers lakes woods & vnderwoods mines & mineralls whatsouer and all and singular other the comoditjes & Appurtenances to the same plantacon belonging or in any wise appertayning either by right of discouery or first Inhabitting and there graunted vnto him by the grand Company of Cannida merchants or as the same were heeretofore purchased of S^r William Alexander Knight by S^r chaude of S^r Stephen Lord of latour for and in the name of him the sajd S^r charles his heires and Assignes by the name of the Countrje of new Scotland formerly called the Countrje of Laccadie as it lyeth along the sea coast eastward as by a deede thereof in the french toung made bearing date the 30th of Aprill 1630. . . . To have & to hold—"

No need to give the remaining tedious formula. The time of redemption was fixed "at or before the twentjeth day of february which shall be in the yeare of o^r Lord God one thousand six hundred fifty and two;" that is, by our reckoning, February 20, 1653. The instrument is signed: "Charles de saint Estienne," and witnessed by seven persons.

No doubt La Tour hoped that, by this solemn and formal conveyance to a very prominent Boston citizen, the personal interest as well as the sympathies of the people and authorities might be more fully enlisted in his cause. Certainly Governor Winthrop and others did not regard La Tour's title lightly, and they were by no means indifferent to securing a substantial claim to the lands and harbors patented to him. So Winthrop remarks:

" In the opening of La Tour's case it appeared that the place where his fort was had been purchased by his father of Sir William Alexander, and he had a free grant of it and of all that part of New Scotland under the great seal of Scotland, and another grant of a Scott Baronet under the same seal; and that himself and his father had continued in possession &c. about thirty years, and that Port Royal was theirs also until D'Aulnay [as Charnisay was more commonly called in New England] had dispossessed him of it by force within these five years."¹

¹ Winthrop's *Journal* (see page 179).

Nor was this confidence ill-founded, for La Tour's grants were subsequently confirmed under the hand of the Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell. But at the time of this mortgage La Tour was a bankrupt and apparently ruined. His enemy had triumphed, and he no longer held in actual possession an acre of ground or a sheltering roof.

Charnisay's ships now so haunted the coasts and scoured the intervening seas, that La Tour could neither relieve his courageous lady and faithful friends at the fort, nor himself return to their aid. In February, learning from two spies that Lady La Tour had no more than fifty soldiers all told, little powder and that mainly of poor quality, while her husband was absent in Boston, and the fort indeed to appearance all but defenseless, the implacable Charnisay judged that now the hour of triumph drew nigh. Accordingly he sailed into the harbor and opened his attack, confident of taking Fort La Tour almost without resistance. But he reckoned without his host. Lady La Tour took command, inspired her devoted soldiers, manned a bastion, and directed the fire with such effect that Charnisay was compelled to draw off with twenty killed and thirteen wounded. His shattered vessel he warped ashore behind a neighboring point to save her from sinking.

Charnisay was, however, still able to prevent La Tour's return, and in the following April appeared before the fort with a yet stronger armament. In the meantime Lady La Tour and her men had not been relieved nor supplied, and consequently were taken at even greater disadvantage. But Charnisay, who now made his approach from the land side, was repulsed again and again, until he despaired of success except by strategy and treachery. Upon the fourth day he succeeded in bribing a Swiss sentry, who, on Easter morning, while the garrison were at prayers, allowed the enemy to approach without giving the alarm. They were already scaling the walls when discovered. Yet brave Lady La Tour rallied her forces, and putting herself at their head, the assailants were repulsed with such promptness and vigor that Charnisay, who had already lost twelve killed and many wounded, was glad to withdraw, and offered honorable terms of capitulation. He guaranteed life and liberty to all. In no condition to endure a siege, despairing of relief and anxious to save the lives of her friends, Lady La Tour consented, and opened the gates to her dastardly foe. Then the extent of his perfidy appeared. The character and performance of the heroic Lady La Tour made no appeal to the rapacious and cruel Charnisay. Every soldier in the fort, French and English alike, was hung, save one, whom he spared on the dreadful condition of becoming the executioner of his comrades. He did not venture to put Lady

La Tour to death. Even the corrupt French court would not have tolerated such a procedure against a noble lady whom he was merely commissioned to arrest. But he did worse. He compelled this heroic victim of his vindictive hate and perfidy to stand by with a rope about her neck and witness the murder of all her faithful defenders.

Lady La Tour, so heroic and spirited by nature, was not formed to endure a helpless captivity under circumstances of such cruelty. The strain of the protracted contest, the separation from her husband, the surrender of the fort, with loss of home and hope, proved too much for her lofty spirit. She faded away, and, only three weeks after the surrender, died of a broken heart, and was laid to rest on the banks of the St. John by the same cruel hands which had wrought her sorrow.

A little child left behind was afterwards sent to France, but no mention of it occurs in the La Tour genealogy, and it probably died young.

The booty taken with the fort is estimated at two thousand pounds, and Winthrop rather peevishly blames La Tour for not having removed his plate and valuables to Boston, where they might have satisfied his creditors, instead of falling into the hands of his enemy. Distressed and beggared, La Tour still found refuge and sympathy with his New England friends. For, says Winthrop :

"In the spring he went to Newfoundland, and was there courteously entertained by Sir David Kirk. Returned to Boston again by the same vessel and all the next winter was entertained by Mr. Samuel Maverick at Noddle's Island."¹

La Tour returned to Boston in one of Kirk's ships, and in the following January rented the same vessel from Maverick, Sir David's agent. This was for a trading expedition, and, undertaken after his bereavement and losses, and upon the conditions he accepted, it displays again the indomitable will and spirit of the man. So far from spending all winter as an idle guest at Noddle's Island, we find him executing this lease on January 14, and his contract with the merchants who furnished the trading-stock on January 19. He must have sailed about this time, for Winthrop

¹ Winthrop's *Hist. N. Eng.*, II., 291. But in this statement Winthrop is not accurate, neither is he consistent with himself; for he says afterward, apparently under date [25 (5) 1645] of July 25, 1645, though the entry must have been made later, that :

"M. La Tour having stayed here all winter and so far in the summer, and having petitioned the court for aid against M. D'Aulnay, and finding no hope to obtain help that way, took shipping in one of our vessels which went on fishing to Newfoundland hoping by means of Sir David Kirk, governor there, and some friends he might procure in England, to obtain aid from thence, intending for that end to go thence to England, returned hither before winter."—Winthrop's *Hist. N. Eng.*, II., 303.

himself elsewhere states that he arrived at Cape Sable "in the heart of winter."

That, under the circumstances, his Boston friends furnished La Tour with this complete outfit, shows their confidence and perhaps their sympathy; but these sentiments did not prevent an eye to business, nor obstruct their fondness for good bargains. From the results of the voyage La Tour, first of all, agreed to pay his friends the full price for their goods as per invoice. But secondly: "And in consideration of the Adventure wth they run I doe promise to deliver vnto them or their Assignes over & aboue the principall aboue expressed three eight parts of all w^{ch} shall remaine when the principall is payd." And again, thirdly: "For hyre of the afore said vessell" with crew, supplies, and necessary appointments, including "fourre guns two murderers 6 muskettts with powder shott match & other necessaries" he must give "the ful one halfe part of all such Bever Moose & other furrs & Merchandize as he shall get by way of trade wth the Indians in this his voyage" beyond the amount required to pay for his goods. That is, after settling for the stock in trade, La Tour would have one-eighth of the profits, while the ship took one-half and the merchants three-eighths. With a most prosperous voyage this would be a laborious if not impossible method of restoring his shattered fortunes. If he "turned pirate," as was said, it was upon this discouragement.

Honest John Winthrop is the sole authority for this story. He declares:

"When La Tour came to Cape Sable (which was in the heart of winter), he conspired with the master (being a stranger) and his own Frenchmen, being five, to go away with the vessel, and so forced out the other five English (himself shooting one of them in the face with a pistol) who, through special providence, having wandered up and down fifteen days found some Indians who gave them a shallop and victuals, and an Indian pilot. So they arrived safe at Boston in the third month [May]. Whereby it appeareth (as the Scripture saith) that there is no confidence in an unfaithful or carnal man. Though tied with so many strong bonds of courtesy, etc., he turned pirate, etc."¹

Hannay in his *History of Acadia* discredits the tale. No doubt these five sailors returned and imposed upon the governor with this pitiful yarn, which Hannay suggests was more likely concocted to cover their own mutinous conduct or desertion. There is much to be said for this view. The thing is so inconsistent with all we know of La Tour's character and conduct, both before and after, that it becomes well nigh incredible. His version of the incident has not come down to us; but his subsequent relations with New England, the distinguished consideration and remark-

¹ Winthrop's *History of New England*, II., 325..

able favors received from the British government, refute the supposition that such a stain could rest upon him. He afterward traded at Boston, an exception being made in his favor at a time when all exporting of provisions to either Dutch or French was interdicted. Living in Acadia under English rule, he stood so high as to receive almost unparalleled gifts at the hands of the government. As for Winthrop's journal, it ceased with the death of its author (March 26, 1649), and hence could not contain the correction which otherwise might have been added.

La Tour appeared at Quebec August 8, 1646, where this governor of Acadia, proscribed from his province and outlawed in France, was received with acclamations from the people, and all honors from the commandant. He continued four years absent from Acadia, two of which at least he spent in Canada. Of this period we have but a meagre knowledge, but in those stirring times we may be sure such a man could not be idle. In 1648 he is mentioned as having gone to fight against the Iroquois. He continued in the fur trade, and is said to have penetrated to the shores of Hudson's bay.

Charnisay, of course, adorned his own cause in France, where he was complimented for his success, in letters commendatory, by the queen regent, in the name of the child-king, wherein it was assumed that La Tour wished to subvert the French authority and planned to deliver his fort to foreigners. Charnisay's renewed commission recited his many and remarkable services, and gave him everything—all authority, and exclusive privileges of trade from the St. Lawrence to Virginia. He returned, summarily and forcibly ejected Nicholas Denys, the only remaining rival holding patents within his territory. He now reigned supreme, apparently having succeeded in all his intrigues and rapacious schemes. He was embarrassed, indeed, with an enormous debt incurred through such costly enterprises, but with an immensely rich monopoly, which might presently reimburse him fourfold. His career came to a sudden end, for in 1650 he was drowned in the river of Port Royal. "There is no further history or tradition concerning him. If Charnisay had any friends when living, none of them were to be found after his death. . . . His influence at the French court, which must have been great, rested upon such a slender foundation of merit that it did not survive him a single day. He who stood high in the royal favor was a few months after his death branded as a false accuser, in an official document signed by the king's own hand."¹

Upon Charnisay's death La Tour returned to France, and had little

¹ Hannay's *History of Acadia*, p. 188.

trouble in establishing his own innocence and securing a complete reversal of all the former proceedings against him, with a renewal of his commission as governor and lieutenant-general in Acadia. Indeed, the charter highly commended his fidelity and valor in defending the territorial rights of his sovereign, which, as the document recited, he would have continued to do had he not been hindered by the false accusations and pretenses of Charles de Menou, Sieur d'Aulnay Charnisay.

La Tour returned to Acadia, and in September, 1651, took peaceable possession once again of his plantation and Fort La Tour at the mouth of the St. John. Charnisay's widow, alarmed at the scope of his commission, sought to interest the Duke de Vendome. He readily secured letters patent from the compliant king, but did nothing under them. Early in 1653 the bitter and disastrous controversy between these rival French houses of Acadia was at once and forever composed by the marriage of Lord La Tour to the widow of Charnisay. On February 24 of that year the voluminous and explicit marriage contract declared the object of the union to be to secure "the peace and tranquillity of the country, and concord and union between the two families."

About the time that La Tour and his new wife were well settled at Fort La Tour, which had been bestowed as a marriage portion on Madame Charnisay, a new claimant appeared in the field. A certain M. Le Borgne, chief creditor of Charnisay, secured a judgment and execution against the estate, and now proposed to capture all Acadia for debt. He had already seized upon St. Peter's and Port Royal by a mixture of strategy and violence, and soon appeared before Fort La Tour with a pretense of bringing supplies for sale, but intending to take the place by fraud and force. He was hastily recalled to Port Royal by news of the re-occupation of St. Peter's by Nicholas Denys under a new commission from the French king, who seems to have given away the province or any part of it as often as anybody would ask him.

So Le Borgne, intending to return later, withdrew without revealing his treacherous scheme. But the next day an English fleet arrived before the fort, under the command of Major Robert Sedgwick of New England. Cromwell had sent four ships to Boston with intent there to organize an expedition against the Dutch of Manhattan. They arrived early in June, 1654, and a few days later came news of peace concluded between England and Holland. Our fathers, entering into the scheme with alacrity, had already enlisted five hundred men; and all thinking it a pity to waste so fine an armament, they soon saw it to be their duty to turn the fleet against their popish neighbors in Acadia, and this in a time of profound

peace. Under this surprise and compulsion Fort La Tour surrendered, as did also Port Royal and Penobscot. Cromwell quite approved of this deft sleight-of-hand performance.

But La Tour was full of resources. He hastened to England and pressed his claim under the grant of Sir William Alexander with great success. In connection with Thomas Temple and William Crowne, and for a small annual rental of beaver skins, he secured a grant and government of all the coasts with one hundred leagues inland from the present Lunenburg in Nova Scotia to the river St. George in Maine. La Tour did not wait for another turn in fortune's wheel, but sold out his share to Temple and Crowne, himself retiring to a comfortable private life still within his beloved Acadia, where he enjoyed a decade or more of prosperous tranquillity, dying in 1666 at the age of seventy-two.



MRS. MARTHA J. LAMB

BY DANIEL VAN PELT

Literary circles of New York have sustained a severe loss in the decease of Mrs. Lamb. Many tributes of respect and appreciation have already appeared in the contemporary press, and many more may be looked for. It is eminently fitting that a leading part in these testimonials to the worth of the departed should be taken by the periodical which owed so much of its success to her signal ability and her indefatigable industry, and which had come to be so closely identified with her name.

The simple story of her life is quickly told. She was born at Plainfield, Massachusetts, on August 13, 1829. Her maiden name indicates more than one suggestive line of ancestry. Martha Joanna Reade Nash was the daughter of Arvin Nash and Lucinda Vinton. Thus, on the mother's side a strain of the mercurial Gallic blood would be apt to lend enthusiasm to the nature, and warmth and brilliancy to the literary style. Her paternal grandparents were Jacob Nash and Joanna Reade. Jacob Nash was a soldier of the Revolution, and traced his pedigree to the company who came over in the *Mayflower*. Her grandmother's family embraced within its English branch one whose name has become a household word in literature—Charles Reade the novelist. The laws of heredity would determine at the outset that a person thus descended would develop a love for her country and its history, as well as incline to a literary expression of that *penchant*.

In her early girlhood Mrs. Lamb spent much of her time in Goshen, Massachusetts. Her school-days brought her to Northampton and Easthampton. People acquainted with her in those days speak of her as bright, healthy, and wholesome, energetic to a degree, and with great confidence in her ability to accomplish difficult tasks. Her fondness for books made her father's library a place of delight to her at a very tender age. In a paper read before a historical society some years ago, the writer gives a pleasant glimpse of Mrs. Lamb's initiation to her career as historian: "She herself tells with charming simplicity of her introduction to history, wondering with a child's eagerness if the *Scottish Chiefs* were true, and rummaging until she found an old musty history of Scotland. It was a yellow-paged volume, printed in the ancient style which reveled in long s's and other eccentricities; but, with a child's confidence, she was undismayed at the

unattractive appearance of the book, and seating herself on the floor read steadily from beginning to end 'to find about William Wallace.' After this beginning she read all the historical works in her father's library, and scandalized her family and amused her friends by innocently trying to borrow precious volumes from the neighbors." But besides this part of her mental equipment, upon which rests her reputation to-day, it is not so well known that she had remarkable mathematical talents. Before her marriage she was a teacher in a polytechnic institute, and had undertaken the revising and editing of some text-books on mathematics for the higher classes of such schools. This aptitude, too, enabled her to prepare a popular work explaining the Coast Survey to lay readers, a treatise published by the Harpers; while her studies in this connection naturally led her, again, to write the excellent paper on "The American Life-Saving Service."

In 1852, when she had attained the age of twenty-three, she was married to Mr. Charles A. Lamb of Ohio, who moved with her to the city of Chicago. Here another side of her character found a scope for development. During her residence of eight years in Chicago, she started a movement in practical and much-needed benevolence, which resulted in the founding of the Home for the Friendless and Half-Orphan Asylum, which is still in flourishing condition to-day. In 1863, in the dark days of civil war, she acted as secretary of the first Sanitary Fair; and its success was largely ascribed to her enthusiasm in the cause, and her well-directed efforts in promoting the enterprise.

In 1866 Mrs. Lamb came to take up her residence permanently in New York. It had now become expedient that she engage in literary work, and, like so many others who have such labors in view, she was inevitably drawn toward the metropolis. She began immediately to prepare for writing the work which has more than anything else established her fame. At the same time her industrious pen and versatile mind turned to other and lighter fields of literature. In a space of less than two years (1869-1870) she put forth no less than eight books for children. In 1873 she ventured upon fiction and produced *Spicy*, a novel which attained some note; and about fifty shorter stories attest that this was a vein which Mrs. Lamb could work with remarkable ease. An illustrated volume was published by the Appletons in 1879, of which the text was written by Mrs. Lamb; the very title—*Historic Homes of America*—being abundantly suggestive of the interesting contents as regards its products both of the pencil and of the pen. In 1881 and 1882 she was induced to lend her powers as a graceful writer to enhance the Christmas cheer in American homes, and there appeared successively *The Christmas Owl* and *The*

Christmas Basket. In 1883 she published her *Wall Street in History*, which attracted attention, and her position as an authority on the history of the metropolis was so well recognized that she was invited to prepare the historical sketch of New York city for the tenth census. A *Memorial of Dr. J. D. Russ, Snow and Sunshine*, and about one hundred magazine articles on historical and other subjects, indicate not only the industry but the versatility of her pen, which seems never to have rested since she entered upon her distinctively literary career.

But in the midst of all these various literary labors, the *History of New York City* was growing under her hands during a period of fifteen years of study and investigation. Up to this time no history of the metropolis upon such a scale, commensurate with the greatness of its subject, had been undertaken. There were a few antiquated treatises; one by Chief Justice Smith, carrying events to the year 1756, continued to a somewhat later period by his son, and republished as thus extended in 1830. There was William Dunlap the actor's history, useful in its way but not very scholarly, and leaving our information suspended somewhere among the early years of this century. A number of minor attempts, more or less fragmentary, had also been made to record the story of our city. Finally, a few years before the war, was issued a book that could at all compare, in exhaustive study and attractive style, with Mrs. Lamb's later effort, and this, too, was from a woman's hand, Miss Mary L. Booth. But even this left free scope for such an undertaking as was contemplated and finally executed by the subject of this sketch. With every added year materials for a history of our city were accumulating; the methods of studying and writing history were improved, while its requirements were more exacting. And, above all, it was after the war especially that our great city took ever more gigantic strides in the way of commercial development, material growth, and literary importance. There was a place for a new history to be written under such conditions; it but required sufficient courage and ability to carry out the work. Neither of these necessary qualities was lacking in Mrs. Lamb.

The *History of the City of New York* was published in two volumes, in the year 1881. "It is not so much," said one competent critic, "that Mrs. Lamb has written a history of the largest city in the western hemisphere, but that she has executed her task with such fidelity, accuracy, excellence, and signal success." It is true that one who is familiar with the ground she covers, as the result of special studies on similar topics, will occasionally find little slips in statement, some facts unreported, and others not quite correctly reported. But it would be exceedingly unfair

to press such *minutiae* as vitiating the record as a whole. It must not be forgotten that she alone and personally covered the whole field, while her cavilers may have but fixed their attention upon parts of it. As what she wrote was honestly her own composition, in the heat and labor of composing some unessential details may have escaped her eye, or may have worn a different look from what they possessed upon the unimpassioned note-book. Another fault may be said to be an inclination to discursiveness. We are occasionally carried far away from our city, to scale the Heights of Abraham with Wolfe ; to traverse the Jerseys with Washington as he retires before Cornwallis ; and we fight one or two battles under his magnificent leadership, which were not fought on either Long Island or Manhattan Island. But then we almost forget how far we are away from our subject in the charm of the style and the vividness of the narrative which delight and beguile us. Perhaps not least among the merits of this history is that it does not forbid but rather invites the continuance of effort in the same direction. Other histories of New York city have sprung up in the wake of it, stimulated thereto doubtless by having seen how interestingly such a story could be told. And as scholarship too finds with every advancing decade more materials to be worked into readable history and valuable information, it is not surprising that the present decade has seen initiated a history of New York city on a very much larger scale than even Mrs. Lamb's, but conducted by several investigators at the same time. Many tokens of appreciation of a flattering nature came to Mrs. Lamb as the result of her achievement.

At the time of her death she was a member of many learned societies, two among which she prized peculiarly—the American Historical Association, of which she was a life member, and the Clarendon Historical Society of Edinburgh, Scotland, of which she was made a fellow.

In 1883, two years after completing her history, Mrs. Lamb purchased the *Magazine of American History*, and assumed the editorial direction of it herself. Although it had then been issued a few years, this periodical felt at once the stimulus of a new life when Mrs. Lamb assumed the editorship. Her name alone gave it prestige, but the nature of the contents kept on augmenting its reputation, and ere long it held easily the foremost rank amid publications of this kind. No cultured home could afford to be without its valuable and unique information, illuminating alike topics of a larger and of a minor or more local historical interest. Its scope allowed it to give an *entrée* to papers and discussions which the popular magazines barred out as too "dry," but which, somehow, took color and new interest when placed before the people in these pages. The

conduct of the magazine has tended to withdraw Mrs. Lamb from literary activity in other directions, so that her life has become identified with its life, and at her death it remains a monument to her uninterrupted devotion to historical studies even when old age was coming on apace. To within a few days of her death her time and thought were given to it. Warned to take heed to herself as the inclemency of the weather increased, she still persisted in her daily visits to the office. She contracted a severe cold, resulting in pneumonia. As the old year passed away and the new year came in, she was trembling on the brink of the grave; and early on the morning of Monday, January 2, 1893, her useful and industrious career was terminated by a peaceful death.



A NORTH CAROLINA MONASTERY¹

BY J. S. BASSETT

Early in the sixth century persecution in Rome drove Benedict of Nursia into exile. After some wandering he settled at Monte Casino, and drew around him a school composed of a few associates of pious inclination, severe habits, and unhesitating devotion to duty. His fame spread till he found that his school had grown to large numbers, and had attracted students from all Christendom. Out of this school grew the monastery of Monte Casino, and out of the monastery developed the order of Benedictine monks. To estimate the influence of this order would be difficult. Speaking broadly, it educated Europe. Whenever a colony of Benedictines went out among the barbarians, it became a centre from which were spread the forces of enlightenment, morality, and improved economic conditions. In conducting their enterprises their spirits were heroic. Winter blast, sterile soils, and rude society, did not deter them. To the vicissitudes of nature they opposed courage and industry; to the rudeness of men they opposed a calm, persevering, Christ-like spirit. They were well suited for the conditions they encountered. They strengthened the cause of right, protected the weak, opposed feudal robbery, and in short, during the six centuries following the establishing of the order, they exerted a generally equalizing influence over the social surface of Europe.

They fitted so well into the past that we are accustomed to imagine that they belonged there. Unless we actually stumble on their long black habits we forget that the Benedictines are still active and true to the purposes of their teacher, are continually sending out parties to found new colleges or new abbeys. The writer realized this not long ago, when he had his attention called to the Mary Help abbey, near Belmont, North Carolina.

Perhaps the conditions of such an attempt long ago would be reproduced no more exactly in any state of the Union than in North Carolina. This is without doubt the most non-Catholic state in America. Gaston county, in which Belmont is situated, is perhaps the most non-Catholic county in the state. It lies in the district of the Cape Fear and Catawba valleys, within which the Scotch colonies settled in the eighteenth century, and the inhabitants are mostly Presbyterians. At the time the enterprise began there were only eighteen hundred Catholics in the whole state.

¹ A paper read before the Historical Seminary of Johns Hopkins University, December 16, 1892.

Agriculture in the south, conducted for the most part by negro labor, is careless and superficial. Society has not entirely emerged from the semi-feudal conditions of ante-bellum days. Taken all in all, it seemed that here was an experiment, an investigation of which would be of interest both to the historian and to the sociologist. Through the kindness of the monks, materials were easily attainable, and it was comparatively a simple task to write this sketch of the past history and present life of the abbey.

Since the days of Spanish colonization there have been Benedictine foundations in South and Central America; but not till 1842 was there one in the United States. In that year Arch-abbot Wimmer of München, Bavaria, founded St. Vincent's abbey in Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania. This is the parent of all the Benedictine abbeys now in this country. Among the largely Catholic population of the north and the west, the order has had great success; but for a time the south remained to them an unfollowed field.

In the year 1876 Rev. Dr. J. J. O'Connell gave for establishing a colony a plantation of five hundred acres, situated near a station on the R. & D. R.R., then known as Garibaldi, but since changed to Belmont.

So far as the natural conditions of the site are concerned, they could hardly have been better in the state. The climate is a happy medium between the cold winters of the mountains, lying fifty or more miles to the west, and the semi-tropical seasons of the Atlantic coasts just below Wilmington. The soil, of red clay mixed with sand, is capable of being made very fertile. It produces cotton, tobacco, and all the cereals. Without cultivation the farmer may reap enough native hay for his stock. Red clover grows to great advantage. All kinds of fruits abound, the section being the home of the Catawba grape. The location is very healthful. The people are, perhaps, more intelligent than average southern farmers; and as to liquor drinking, they boast that they are the most temperate in North Carolina. Briefly, the spot is well suited for intelligent, diversified farming, and the people are good neighbors.

The design of the Benedictines, when they accepted Dr. O'Connell's gift, was to erect a college to educate priests for the southern work. Accordingly, during the same year, Rev. Dr. Herman Wolfe led out the first colony, which found shelter for a while in Dr. O'Connell's house. The quiet sons of the Covenanters were surprised at the sight of the black-robed figures about their old neighbor's premises. Monks! They had never before seen one. About all they knew of such beings they had gotten from the impressive pictures of Fox's *Book of Martyrs*, and from the milk-and-water stuff that is usually doled out to children by Sunday-school

libraries. North Carolina is such a strongly dissenting state, that in many rural districts even a surpliced Episcopal clergyman is an object of interest. Imagine, then, the feelings of these good people when they found themselves face to face with real, living monks.

The Benedictines, however, settled down to their work at once. With seven or eight boys, whom they gathered with much effort, the teachers began the routine work of what had been called "Saint Mary's college." The lay brothers went to their tasks in kitchen, workshop, and field, and wherever the care of the farm took them. The neighbors found them affable, self-contained, industrious, and strictly honest in business affairs. If there was but little communication, there was respect and no ill-will on either side.

The first work of Dr. Wolfe was erecting a college building. He soon had ready a two-story frame house. Four years later a three-story brick building, seventy-five by thirty-five feet, was constructed for the college, and the monks used the wooden structure for their quarters.

Nine years passed, and the number of students increased from eight to sixteen or twenty. The mother abbey had such demands from the north and the west that the work in North Carolina was not pushed very energetically. Brothers looked on Saint Mary's as almost a place of exile. Failure stared the young college in the face. Arch-abbot Wimmer, realizing that something must be done to prevent dissolution, applied to Rome to have Saint Mary's erected into an independent abbey. The request was granted, and the new abbey was called Mary Help.

After much effort a small band of volunteers was secured, who agreed to go south and take the new work in hand. On July 14, 1885, these assembled in the chapter house of Saint Vincent's to elect an abbot. This election must be held in strict accord with canon law, and the utmost secrecy must be observed. The unanimous choice fell on Rev. Leo Haid, secretary, chaplain, and professor at Saint Vincent's. A better man for the place it would have been hard to find. He is well known in Catholic circles as an orator, and his success with Mary Help abbey has been remarkable.

By the fall opening the sixteen students had increased to forty-five. To-day, seven years later, it is over a hundred. Plans were made for a new college building to be erected in parts. In 1887 the east wing, seventy-five by sixty feet, was completed. It is of brick, three stories high, with a basement. In 1888 the central building, fifty-four by sixty feet, was put up. The west wing, of the same size as the east wing, remains to be built. In 1891 they added one hundred and twenty feet to the old college building, and now use it for an abbey. At the present time they are building

an abbey church. It is to be a handsome Gothic structure, one hundred and fifteen by fifty-four feet.

Besides, Mary Help has become a mother abbey. In 1887 Abbot Haid erected a high school in Richmond, Virginia. In 1891 he opened Saint Leo's military college at Clear Lake, Florida. The buildings of the latter are ample, and the institution is said to be in a flourishing condition.

In 1888 Abbot Haid was consecrated bishop of Messene and vicar apostolic of North Carolina. He refused to resign his abbatial position, and by a special arrangement, common in ancient times, but never before employed in the United States, he was allowed to fulfill his new duties and still to retain his office as abbot.

In casting up the general statistics of the abbey at the end of the seventh year of its existence, it is seen that the membership has increased from four priests, four sub-deacons, two clerics, and four lay brothers in 1885, to seventeen priests, two deacons, six clerics, three novices, twenty-two lay brothers, and eighteen lay novices and candidates in 1892; that is to say, a growth from fourteen to sixty-eight. Moreover, two hundred and fourteen acres of land have been added to the original farm, thus making seven hundred and fourteen acres in one tract.

The condition of the farm is much better than it was originally. Land has been improved by careful and studied cultivation, and blooded stock has been gradually introduced. All supplies needed have been raised by the monks. In the winter of 1885-86, with four cows and two horses to keep, the abbot had to buy hay; now he has feed in abundance for his thirty head of cattle and seven horses. The system of agriculture is the most modern, and the farm has become a model for the neighbors. A large orchard furnishes fruit for home consumption, with a small amount for sale, while the abbey vineyard furnishes wine for table use and for sacramental purposes. Incidentally, it may be remarked that land in the immediate vicinity has increased in value during the last eight years from eight or ten dollars to twenty-five or thirty dollars an acre.

It is undoubtedly a fact that the abbey is becoming very wealthy. It is equally true, I am informed, that it is all through the efforts of the monks themselves. They have received no outside aid. While individual farmers have become poor, they have become wealthy; and this while educating without charge their own candidates and many other students.

The cause lies in two facts: (1) The organization of the labor forces of the abbey, and (2) the manner of life of the monks themselves.

Monasticism is the purest type of communism. All property is held in common. A monk can neither give nor receive anything without the

consent of the abbot. Whatever he produces goes into the common store; whatever he needs for his simple wants he gets from this store through the procurator. The saving is great. The abbot has control of all expenditure. He also directs the entire life of the members of the order. He assigns each one his work according to what he thinks is his most profitable adaptability. The member must submit. If he thinks his task is impossible, he may tell his superior so in a spirit of gentleness and patience; but if the abbot still thinks that he should do the work, then the disciple must yield, and no more objection is allowed.

Although the abbot is elected as in a perfect democracy, he holds power almost as if he were an autocrat. He is largely independent of higher authority, and to him every monk is responsible for the correct performance of his duty. He is head farmer, head teacher—supreme over each department. He thinks out the plans of the monastery; he directs their execution. Bishop Haid is professor of moral theology in the college, and works as the other teachers. He may often, when other duties allow, be seen in the fields working with the lay brothers.

The routine life of the monks, just as it was a dozen or more centuries ago, is severe and simple. They arise at 3.45 o'clock, at the summons of the abbey bell, spend two hours in prayer and meditation, partake of a slight breakfast, and then go about their daily tasks. Study, rest, and recreation are duly provided for. At 9 o'clock in the evening all retire. The religious motive drives away rivalry and discontent. Each one works from a sense of religious duty. The abbot says they do not need watching; he always knows they are doing their duty.

The health of the community is excellent. If we except attendance due to accidents from the use of machinery, the physicians' fees do not reach ten dollars a year. There are some persons at hard work at the advanced age of seventy-five or seventy-eight years. From the monks' standpoint the abbey is represented as a delightful place to live in.

Monasticism as compared with communism has one decided advantage: No man is born a monk. It has been the fate of the attempts in the past to establish societies on the communistic basis, that as soon as the original members have been replaced by a younger generation, their own children for the most part, the project has failed. Taking the vows of monastic life is a thing of choice, and is backed by the strongest religious motives. Monasticism looks to earnest conviction for its continued existence; communism must rely on the fortuitous circumstances of birth.

BAYARD TAYLOR

BY THE EDITOR

Many interesting and pleasant memories are associated with the name of one who has a just claim to what Halleck happily called

"That frailer thing than leaf or flower,
A poet's immortality ;"

—whose brief and brilliant career, "the truly American story of a grand, cheerful, active, self-developing, self-sustaining life, remains as an enduring inheritance for all coming generations."

Bayard Taylor, journalist, traveler, poet, critic, novelist, and lecturer, was born in Kennett Square, the name of a pleasant and pretty rural vil-

lage in Chester county, Pennsylvania, January 11, 1825. He was descended from a Quaker family, and breathed from the first a moral atmosphere as pure and healthful as the mountain air in which his infancy was cradled. His entrance upon active life was as an apprentice in a printing office, where he began to learn the trade at the age of seventeen, receiving a new impulse to his imperfect studies, and in some sense supplying the defects of his early education. In *Graham's Magazine* for May, 1843, there is a poem of his, entitled "Modern Greece," signed J. B. Taylor, and another in August, 1844, called "The Nameless Bird." In the following year he ceased to use his first name of James, and began to call himself J. Bayard Taylor, which he had

seldom done before, and under that arrangement of his patronymic appeared in the same magazine as the author of "Night on the Deep" and "The Poet's Ambition." By this time the promise of his life had been recognized by several Philadelphians, who kindly advanced the young writer the necessary means to enable him to visit Europe, and he com-



menced his adventurous journey with knapsack and pilgrim staff. On the eve of departure for the Old World he published a volume entitled *Ximena and Other Poems*, a brochure almost as rare as George Bancroft's poems, or the little volume of Judge Story's called *Reason and Other Poems*, all of which are now lying on my library table.

Soon after his return to his native land Taylor published the fruits of his foreign travel and study in *Views Afoot*, a volume which has always been a favorite with the public, as it was with its author. After a brief course of literary activity in Pennsylvania he shook off the dust of rural life from his feet, and early in 1848 appeared in New York. Here he became attached to the staff of the *Tribune*—a connection which continued for three decades. A year later he made a journey to California; returning by way of Mexico. Before his departure, in 1851, on a protracted tour in the East, he had made the acquaintance of Longfellow, Whittier, and Holmes, and of the New York *literati* Bryant, Halleck, Willis, Poe, Morris, Park Benjamin, and the brothers Duyckinck, and had published two additional volumes of poems, also *Eldorado; or, Adventures in the Path of Empire*—a peculiarly popular book.

A few days after his return from his third tour, Taylor told me that he had traveled fifty thousand miles. His letters describing the journey appeared from time to time in the *Tribune*, and later in a series of uniform volumes. During all this period Taylor was becoming a proficient in many modern languages, of which the German was a favorite as early as his twenty-first year; and he had become a most popular lecturer, appearing in all the principal cities and towns of the northern, middle, and western states. He made a fourth tour in 1856-58, and in 1862-63 was Secretary of Legation at St. Petersburg, acting for a time as *chargé d'affaires*. In 1874 the poet-traveler revisited Egypt, attended the millennial celebration in Iceland, and on his return, during the same year, published an interesting account of his journeys to those distant lands. His latest and most ambitious poetical work, entitled *Prince Deukalion*, appeared but a few days before his death.

Taylor's accurate knowledge of foreign countries was utilized by American publishers, who employed him to edit at one time a *Cyclopædia of Modern Travel*, at another an *Illustrated Library of Travel* in eight volumes. He edited, with George Ripley, a *Handbook of Literature and Fine Arts*, and was the author of numerous novels and short stories, perhaps the best of which is called *Can a Life Hide Itself?* The most ambitious attempt of Taylor's authorship was his admirable metrical translation of *Faust*, issued in 1870-71. It is not speaking too strongly to pronounce it

a marvel of poetic diction, and the best annotated edition of the greatest German poem yet written. Had he been spared a few years longer to the world, he would have enriched it with a life of Goethe—a task for which he was perhaps of all men best fitted. But, alas! the book is unwritten.

In his ever-active, busy career as a professional literary man Taylor produced, edited, and translated, between the years 1844 and 1878, no less than fifty-two volumes, a harvest surpassed by few whose labors have covered much longer periods. Added to all this, there was much good work of various kinds in the *New York Tribune*, with which he was so long identified, in contributions to the *North American Review* and to the *Atlantic*, *Harper's*, and *Scribner's* monthlies, and in the numerous lectures and addresses delivered during nearly three decades. His last published writing, and also, I believe, his latest composition, was the poem tributary to Bryant, "Epicedium," which first appeared a few days after Taylor's death. What could more touchingly herald the tidings of Taylor's obsequies in a foreign land than this fifth stanza of his own "Epicedium" for the venerable poet who preceded him but so short a time on the last journey to that land from whence no returning envoy comes?

" And last, ye Forms, with shrouded face,
 Hiding the features of your woe,
 That on the fresh sod of his burial-place
 Your myrtle, oak, and laurel throw—
 Who are ye?—whence your silent sorrow?
 Strange is your aspect, alien your attire:
 Shall we, who knew him, borrow
 Your unknown speech for Grief's august desire?
 Lo! one, with lifted brow
 Says: ' Nay, he knew and loved me: I am Spain! '
 Another: ' I am Germany,
 Drawn sadly nearer now
 By songs of his and mine that make one strain,
 Though parted by the world-dividing sea! '
 And from the hills of Greece there blew
 A wind that shook the olives of Peru,
 Till all the world that knew,
 Or, knowing not, shall yet awake to know
 The sweet humanity that fused his song,
 The haughty challenge unto Wrong,
 And for the trampled Truth his fearless blow,
 Acknowledged his exalted mood
 Of faith achieved in song-born solitude,
 And give him high acclaim,
 With those who followed Good, and found it Fame!"

Notwithstanding the enormous amount of his intellectual labor, it was all well done, and in the highest degree of perfection of which he was capable. I spoke to him once of his literary tasks, and remarked that it was often so urgent and hastily executed that I supposed he grew careless and indifferent about its quality; but he answered in strangely strong terms, "No; in all this various work that you allude to, I am always as much in earnest to do my best as if salvation for all time depended upon it."

"This is not the place," remarks the *Tribune*, "for a critical estimate of his writings, but there is one conspicuous quality in them which shone so brightly also in his personal character that we cannot pass it over here in silence. That quality is honesty. It is seen in the frank simplicity of his style, the thoroughness of his workmanship, the clearness of his opinions, the fidelity with which he held through life to his chosen work, sparing no pains to produce the very best of which he was capable, however small the subject or trivial the reward. Nobody could read one of his books without feeling the influence of this virtue. Nobody could know him without perceiving that this high literary merit was a reflex of an earnest and simple nature. If there is a long remembrance for honest men, there is no less a long life for honest books. It is a golden lesson for authors and journalists, that in this instance literary honesty and personal uprightness have secured a brilliant success in life, and an enduring reputation."

The American government has during the present century appointed many men of letters to represent the republic as ambassadors and consuls, who have shown that an accomplished man of letters may also be a skillful diplomat and thorough man of business—may, in fact, be the "Perfect Ambassador" of the old Spanish treatise. Beginning in 1810 with Barlow, the United States has since been represented abroad by Wheaton, Bancroft, Irving, Hawthorne, Motley, Marsh, Theodore S. Fay, Bigelow, Boker, Lowell, Howells, Bret Harte, and John Hay; but it may be questioned whether any one of these were better fitted to represent our country at the post to which he was accredited than was Bayard Taylor when appointed by President Hayes to the court of Berlin—an appointment which met with the unanimous approval of the press and people. The poet departed for his new field of labor in April, 1878, and ere the close of the year came the startling and unlooked-for intelligence of his death, on Thursday afternoon, December 19. His funeral services were celebrated in Berlin on the Sunday following, Dr. Joseph P. Thompson, formerly of New York, and Berthold Auerbach, the German poet, making appropriate and impressive addresses in the presence of an immense concourse of people.

Many meetings in honor of the poet's memory were held in New York and elsewhere. At one of these gatherings, which occurred in Tremont temple, Boston, on the evening of January 15, 1879, a rare combination was

witnessed, which no one who had the good fortune to be present will ever forget—namely, the following poem, written for the occasion by Henry W. Longfellow, and read by Oliver Wendell Holmes, who prefaced it with these well-chosen words :

"I can hardly ask your attention to the lines which Mr. Longfellow has written and done me the honor of asking me to read, without a few words of introduction. The poem should have flowed from his own lips, in those winning accents, too rarely heard in any assembly, and never forgotten by those who have listened to them. But its tenderness and sweetness are such that no imperfection of utterance can quite spoil its harmonies. There are tones in the contralto of our beloved poet's melodious song that were born with it, and must die with it when its music is silenced. A tribute from such a singer would honor the obsequies of the proudest sovereign, would add freshness to the laurels of the mightiest conqueror; but he who this evening has this tribute laid upon his head wore no crown save that which the sisterhood of the Muses wove for him. His victories were all peaceful ones, and there was no heartache after any one of them. His life was a journey through many lands of men, through realms of knowledge. He left his humble door in boyhood, poor, untrained, unknown, unheralded, unattended. He found himself once at least—as I well remember his telling me—hungry and well-nigh penniless in the streets of a European city, feasting his eyes at a baker's window and tightening his girdle in place of a repast.

"Once more he left his native land, now in the strength of manhood, known and honored throughout the world of letters, the sovereignty of the nation investing him with its mantle of dignity, the laws of civilization surrounding him with the halo of their inviolable sanctity; the boy who went forth to view the world afoot on equal footing with the potentates and princes who by right of birth or by right of intellect swayed the destinies of great empires. He returns to us no more as we remember him; but his career, his example, the truly American story of a grand, cheerful, active, self-developing, self-sustaining life, remains as an enduring inheritance for all coming generations."

" Dead he lay among his books,
The peace of God was in his looks.
As the statues in the gloom
Watch o'er Maximilian's tomb,
So these volumes, from their shelves,
Watch him, silent as themselves.
Ah ! his hand will nevermore
Turn their storied pages o'er !
Nevermore his lips repeat
Songs of theirs, however sweet !
Let the lifeless body rest,
He is gone who was its guest.
Gone, as travelers haste to leave
An inn, nor tarry until eve.
Traveler, in what realms afar ;
In what planet, in what star ;
In what vast aerial space,
Shines the light upon thy face ?

In what gardens of delight
Rest thy weary feet to-night ?
Poet ! thou whose latest verse
Was a garland on thy hearse—
Thou hast sung with organ tone,
In *Deukalion's* life thine own.
On the ruins of the past
Blooms the perfect flower at last.
Friend ! but yesterday the bells
Rang for thee their loud farewells ;
And to-day they toll for thee,
Lying dead beyond the sea :
Lying dead among thy books,
The peace of God in all thy looks."

Memory recalls to me that I was a schoolboy on College Hill, Poughkeepsie, when Taylor first lectured in that town, and when I first saw him at a supper-party under my father's hospitable roof. He possessed what old Fuller quaintly called a "handsome man-case," and was, I think, the tallest of American poets, standing over six feet. Later in life he came to resemble a Teuton in look and bearing, and was greatly changed from my early recollections, when he possessed a slight figure and something of the Grecian type in head and face, as represented in an early portrait of him, seated on the roof of a house in Damascus, painted by Thomas Hicks. There comes back to me the remembrance of many delightful meetings with Bayard Taylor during a period of more than a quarter of a century. One of the earliest occurred in a western city. He appointed a rendezvous, and, escaping from his lecture committee, he came to the trysting-place, bringing Maurice Strakosch, and introducing him as a friend and the composer of music to one of his (Taylor's) earliest poems. How many hours we sat and smoked and sang and told stories and talked music and art and poetry over our good Rhenish wine, I will not venture to say. I was then fresh from my first visit to Europe, and was brimful of Mario, Grisi, and Lablache, of famous pictures and of literary celebrities, and so found great delight in the conversation of my companions and seniors. Some years later we had another joyous evening, dining together in company with Halleck. Taylor told us, referring to the short berths in the sleeping-cars, that his legs were too long for a lecturer, and that he should stop that business as soon as "Cedarcroft" was finished and paid for. If my memory serves me, he said that it was entirely built with the proceeds of his lecturing. Taylor related a little incident of railway travel in Germany. During his conversation with a fellow-passenger it soon became

evident that they were both great travelers. At length, on inquiring each other's names, the fact was developed that each was well known to the other by reputation. They had some junketing together, and afterwards became warm friends, and, I believe, correspondents. Taylor's companion was Ferdinand von Hockselter, the well-known German traveler and geologist, who died in Vienna in July, 1884, and whose writings have made his name as well known throughout the scientific world as that of Bayard Taylor is in the field of *belles-lettres*. This is the incident that gave rise to the story of a similar meeting with Humboldt, of whom it was untruthfully and maliciously asserted that he said, " Bayard Taylor has traveled more and seen less than any man I ever met!"

The last time Mr. Taylor was in my house was in May, 1877, when he came to meet the divers dignitaries who honored the unveiling of the statue of Fitz-Greene Halleck in the Central Park, Bryant and Boker and Curtis being among the other authors present, while the late President Hayes and his cabinet, with the general of the army and the vice-admiral of the navy, assembled to do especial grace to the memory of that poet. And the last time that I met him was at the Goethe Club reception given at Delmonico's, on the eve of his departure for Germany. The same society that gave him such a brilliant send-off held a meeting in honor of his memory. Said one of the speakers: " The circles of our felicities make short arches! Who shall question the wise axiom of Sir Thomas Browne, the stout old knight of Norwich, when he thinks upon the bright sunshine of the meeting of this club but a few short months ago, and the sombre shadows which hang over us here to-night? Then, with song and dance and wine, we wished 'God-speed' to the prosperous poet on his way to an honorable post in a distant land; this evening we meet together again to mourn over his untimely death—the important literary undertaking of his life, as he deemed it, and of which he had so long dreamed as likely to forever link his name with that of Germany's greatest poet—the life of Goethe, his *magnum opus*, unfinished, if indeed begun. Full of honors if not of years, he passed to his rest; and he is properly entitled to a place among the *Dii minores* of modern poetry!" It may be added that a few months later his mortal remains were brought back from Berlin, and on Saturday, March 15, 1879, were buried with suitable honors in Longwood Cemetery in his native county.

" Such graves as his are pilgrim shrines,
Shrines to no code or creed confined—
The Delphian vales, the Palestines,
The Meccas of the mind."

The aged parents of the poet survived him, and lived to celebrate the sixty-sixth anniversary of their marriage, which took place in the year 1818. Joseph Taylor, his venerable father, who was born at Kennett Square in 1795, and had always resided there, died June 23, 1885, and two days later was buried by the side of his sons Bayard and Frederick—the latter the Benjamin of the flock, who fell on the field of Gettysburg. His mother, Rebecca, lived to the age of ninety-three, dying at Kennett Square, February 18, 1891.

Among the many portraits of Mr. Taylor is an interesting and admirable photograph taken in 1869 by Brady at the time of the unveiling of the bust of Alexander von Humboldt in the Central Park. Around a table, on which stands a model of the bust, are seated Mr. Bryant, Mr. Bancroft, and Mr. Taylor, while leaning on the back of Mr. Bancroft's chair stands George H. Boker. The lapse of a few years made striking changes in the appearance of all these authors. Mr. Bryant wore his hair much shorter than than was usual during his later years. The upper lip was shaven, and the whole expression was less venerable, while more practical and severe. Mr. Bancroft looked like a rather thin and well-preserved Englishman, with white side-whiskers and smoothly shaven chin and lips. Boker and Taylor were both without gray hairs, and the former especially had the look of an alert, active, handsome man of thirty-five or forty at the most. Mr. Taylor shows in the picture at his very best—strong, earnest, and in the full prime of manly vigor.

From Taylor's letters and notes and manuscript poems, of which I have in my garner a goodly sheaf, including the original of his admirable address delivered at the unveiling of the Halleck monument at Guilford on the seventy-ninth anniversary of the poet's birth, I take a few extracts. The earliest is a boyish epistle addressed to the poet Halleck, dated West Chester, Pa., August 16, 1842. He writes:

"Wishing to make a collection of the autographs of distinguished American authors, I have taken the liberty of requesting yours, trusting that my admiration of your poems may serve as an excuse for my boldness. I have obtained the autographs of Irving, Whittier, and some others, and hope to be able to obtain yours. By sending it with the bearer you will confer a lasting favor on yours truly, J. BAYARD TAYLOR."

Writing to a friend from Switzerland in 1856, the poet says:

"Sitting by the blue rushing waters of the arrowy Rhone, with a vile Swiss cigar in my mouth, I think of you and of that precious box whose contents have long since vanished into thin air. I smoked some of them in Stratford, and before Anne Hathaway's cottage. I gave a few to Thackeray, to puff off the first chapters of his new novel ; one

of them made a fast friend of a Gascon coachman in the Bois de Boulogne ; I flung the stump of another into the Rhine at the feet of the Loreley ; and the last were consumed in my own beechen arbors in Germany, beside my fountain and my laughing fauns. The memory of those blue clouds brings tears into my eyes and sorrow into my soul."

In a letter dated Cedarcroft, near Kennett Square, Pa., November 5, 1860, Mr. Taylor writes :

"I have a new book of poems coming out in a month or so—*The Poet's Journal*—some two hundred pages of new material. I have been spending the summer in this Arcadian retreat ;" and adds, "Yours, about to vote for Lincoln."

The most laconic note I ever received or saw was an acceptance from Taylor of an invitation to meet a few friends at dinner in November, 1860. It consisted of the single word "Coming," written under a neatly executed pen-and-ink drawing of the dial of a clock, with the hands pointing to the appointed hour of seven. To this, as I remember, was nothing more added but "Bayard Taylor." A beautiful woman wanted it, and I weakly parted with the interesting artistic souvenir of my friend.

Writing from Gotha in June, 1861, the poet says :

"We are all in good health and spirits, and greatly cheered by the good news from home. Nothing reconciles me to the absence at such a time, but the knowledge that everything is going on for the best, and that the Republic is more firmly established than ever. There was great rejoicing here all winter among the royalists at the prospect of our dissolution ; but now they don't say much, while the liberals rejoice. I am proud to be an American at this time."

Eight years later, writing from his Arcadian retreat near Kennett Square, the poet says :

"I was in New York on Friday, and just as I was leaving the city your invitation reached me through Mr. Putnam. The time is short, and other engagements already undertaken still further curtail it ; but I would like to render whatever honor I may to Halleck's memory, and do not feel justified in declining the invitation—at least before learning precisely what will be expected of me. I will say, then, that I could make an address of from twenty to thirty minutes in length, if that will suffice : that I should like to know in advance whether it is the corner-stone of the monument that is to be laid, or the monument itself to be dedicated. This you do not state. Having, as you know, been out of the country, I am ignorant of what has already been done in the matter. Also tell me, is not this the first instance of a monument being erected to an American poet ? If you can give me a sketch in advance of the nature of the commemoration, and the committee will be satisfied with an address of half an hour in length, I will do my best to share in honoring the poet's memory."

In a letter dated June 18, 1869, after thanking me for a book which I had sent him, he says :

" I have been so busy with my ' Faust ' here in the quiet of the country, that I have fallen behind the pace of contemporary literature, and have not before had an opportunity of reading the very entertaining volume. . . . I prefer to make a short address, not only because the time is brief, but because I think long-winded orations—however excellent the theme—have become an American vice. I can say everything needful in half an hour, and an audience cannot keep freshly attentive and receptive longer than that. . . . I think I shall go to New York on the evening of the 7th and thence to Guilford on the morning of the 8th, so that we can probably go in company, if that is also your plan."

Writing from his country-seat May 10, 1870, Mr. Taylor remarks :

" I was absent at Cornell University when your letter arrived, and now reply at the earliest leisure. I am quite willing to contribute to the proposed statue [of Halleck, in the Central Park, New York], just as soon as I shall possess a small sum which is not appropriated in advance of my receiving it. Since I am not independent of my copyrights, and all American books have such an unsatisfactory sale, except the kind which I should not write at any price, that I must consider my living household first and the dead afterwards. I do not possess a dollar that was not earned by my own personal labor; and you will therefore kindly allow me to wait a few months, until I ascertain how much I may conscientiously spare."

In May, 1872, he incidentally mentions :

" I have never met either Bulwer or Carlyle. Tennyson I know—perhaps I should say *have known*; but something has occurred since I last saw him which makes my relations towards him very delicate. It is a purely private matter, but of such a nature that when I go to England this year I shall not visit Tennyson unless I first receive an intimation that he will be glad to see me."

I find also two pleasant little scraps which show how, in spite of journalistic labors at home and preparations for his honored duties abroad, he lectured to the last, how occupied he was with social and other engagements, and how—it gives me pleasure to remember—our friendly intercourse was maintained to the end :

" Many thanks for your kind invitation," Taylor writes in November, 1877, " but as I am giving a course of Lowell Institute lectures in Boston on Wednesdays and Saturdays, and must be in Portland next Thursday, I must count the dinner among my lost pleasures."

In the following March (he went to his German mission in April) he writes from Kennett Square:

Kennett Square, Penn'a.

March 27, 1878.

Dear General:

This address will show you why I cannot accept your kind invitation. But, in fact, I have neither day nor evening disengaged, up to the time of sailing.

Very truly yours,
Bayard Taylor

Having written to Taylor during the siege of Vicksburg that one of his compositions was a great favorite in our camp, and was often declaimed and sung by the men of my regiment, he expressed his pleasure, and sent me a copy of his spirited lyric, which presents a striking contrast to the grave and high strain of his later poetical work. Taylor's "Song of the Camp" is a fitting companion for Hoffman's "Monterey" and Halleck's "Bozzaris," which are also contained in my manuscript collection.

Cowper used to say that he never knew a poet that was not thriftless. Certainly this is not true of Taylor, nor of any of his literary brothers and contemporaries (nor, so far as I am aware, of any prominent American poet) except Poe. It is thought that the many-sided man injured himself by late hours and overwork, believing that his strong constitution was incapable of being injured by either, or by both combined. Certain it is that his writings are a monument of unflinching toil and industry, and many of them full of the "best thoughts in the best lan-

guage." No man knew better than Bayard Taylor that "nothing would come to him in his sleep," to borrow the words of Goethe; and it is possible that he frequently deprived himself of necessary rest. From year to year he toiled and sang unceasingly, overcoming all obstacles and receiving no honors or rewards to which downright hard work did not fully entitle him.

"He could do more, I think," says his friend Hay, "in a short space of time than any other man I ever knew. He would, if required, write a whole page of *The Tribune* in a single day. His review of Dr. Schliemann's first book, written from advanced sheets, was remarkably full, and gave such a good idea of the work that it was almost unnecessary to read the book itself. He had a peculiar gift at condensing matter and still retaining every point which the author made. Perhaps his greatest feat in this line was achieved upon Victor Hugo's poems. They arrived in New York on a certain morning, and the next morning he published nearly a page review of the work, with several columns of metrical translation, done so finely that all the original vigor and spirit was retained."

There was nothing of the *genus irritabile vatum* about Taylor, or what an English writer has described in still more forcible words,

"The jealous, waspish, wrong-head, rhyming race."

On the contrary, he was a simple-hearted, generous, and genial gentleman, with troops of friends at home and abroad. The grasp of his strong hand was warm and true, with a gentle manner and sweet smile which was very winning. Five years after his death his name and his fame were frequently and appreciatively mentioned to me in England, in all of whose great libraries I found some of his writings, and always his *Faust*. Throughout Germany I met with many of his admirers, and not a few of his works both in the originals and in translations. The old librarian of the valuable Weimar collection, who knew Goethe and whose father was intimate with Schiller, brought out many volumes once the property of those famous men, and then showed me a copy of Taylor's *Faust*, presented by the translator to his friend the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, accompanied by many kindly words of commendation of the good work of the American poet, whom he knew personally, and whose untimely death he deeply lamented.

In Berlin I heard many words of kindness spoken of Taylor by both high and low, and learned many incidents of his too brief official career there. The aged emperor, who was at Waterloo, warmly thanked him for making his presentation address in German instead of the conventional French (or, as it sometimes happens with our ambassadors, in poor English). Bismarck received the poet in the garden of his palace on the Wilhelmstrasse, and walked with him under the grand old oaks and elms

and lindens, talking on literary topics, and showing a surprising intimacy with the new minister's own productions.' No less delighted was Taylor on meeting Disraeli during the congress which brought so many celebrities to Berlin. Taking him warmly by the hand, the illustrious Englishman said, "Taylor, Bayard Taylor—how glad I am to see the man I have so long known."

Of opinions from the living I will not speak, but simply allude to two venerable writers who thought very highly of Bayard Taylor's literary attainments—my old friends Captain Trelawney, the biographer of Byron and Shelley, and the poet Richard Henry Horne, the contemporary of Keats, Southey, and Sir Walter Scott, and the author of the well-known line,

"'Tis always morning somewhere in the world."

inscribed on the sun-dial at the head of the famous Brighton Pier, and so made familiar to many thousands who never read his writings.

Says a London literary journal :

" Aside from his official relations, Bayard Taylor was accredited in a peculiar degree to the German people. In this sense he was a worthy successor of Mr. Bancroft. If the historian belonged rather to the scholars and professors, Mr. Taylor had long been adopted into the fraternity of poets and wits and purely literary people of Germany, and they welcomed him hither in his new character as one of themselves. The minister's knowledge of the language was exact and flexible. He had not learned it like a philologist, and perhaps never took a German grammar in his hands; but he had a literary acquaintance, learned through the study of all the masters, and a practical familiarity acquired through years of life in the country, and the most intimate intercourse with the best people. He spoke German fluently on the platform without preparation, and successfully wooed the German muse with his pen. And he had such a complete consciousness of his power over the language, that he never needed to display it, but would cheerfully submit to be bored by those ambitious Teutons who essayed their mysterious English in his presence."

In September, 1884, there appeared from the loving pen of his widow an admirable memoir of Bayard Taylor, in which the progressive story of his busy literary life is exceedingly well and wisely told. But it does not leave the impression of a happy half-century of existence—rather the reverse. The reason, as shown in the biography,¹ is twofold—his lofty ambition as a poet, which was not gratified by the consciousness of adequate recognition, and the necessity of keeping the pot boiling, as he once said to the writer, by incessant literary drudgery with his pen. "What

¹ *Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor*, edited by Marie Hansen Taylor and Horace E. Scudder. 2 vols., 12mo. Boston, 1884.

we all need," he wrote—and the words in their application to himself are full of pathos—"is not to live without work, but to be free from worry."

Writing in 1873 from Gotha, to a friend who had congratulated him on his success in life, the poet replied, in the saddest letter that he ever wrote:

" You exaggerate what you consider my successes. . . . From 1854 to 1862 or thereabouts, I had a good deal of popularity of a cheap ephemeral sort. It began to decline at the time when I began to see the better and truer work in store for me, and I let it go, feeling that I must begin anew and acquire a second reputation of a different kind. For the last five years I have been engaged in this struggle, which is not yet over. . . . I am giving the best blood of my life to my labors, seeing them gradually recognized by the few and the best, it is true, but they are still unknown to the public, and my new claims are fiercely resisted by the majority of the newspaper writers in the United States. . . . 'Lars' is the first poem of mine ever published in England, and I hoped for some impartial recognition there. Well, the sale is just one hundred and eight copies! My translation of 'Faust' is at last accepted in England, Germany, and America as much the best. It cost me years of the severest labor, and has not yet returned me five hundred dollars. The 'Masque of the Gods' has not paid expenses. The sale of my former volumes of travel has fallen almost to nothing. . . . For two years past I have had no income of any sort from property or copyright, and am living partly on my capital and partly mechanical labor of the mind. . . . I am weary, indeed, completely fagged out, and to read what you say of my success sounds almost like irony."

When it was announced to Taylor that he was to be sent as minister to Germany he rejoiced exceedingly in the appointment for many reasons, but chiefly because it was made in acknowledgment, not of political services, but of his literary attainments and position.

" It is something so amazing," he wrote to the poet Paul H. Hayne, " that I am more bewildered and embarrassed than proud of my honors. If you knew how many years I have steadily worked, devoted to a high ideal, which no one seemed to recognize, and sneered at by cheap critics as a mere interloper in literature, you would understand how incredible this change seems to me. The great comfort is this: I was right in my instinct. The world does appreciate earnest endeavor, in the end. I have always had faith, and I have learned to overlook opposition, disparagement, misconception of my best work, believing that the day of justification would come. But what now comes to me seems too much. I can only accept it as a balance against me, to be met by still better work in the future."

In that last line rings the true metal of Bayard Taylor, who believed in the words of the inspiring Goethe, "*Wir heissen euch hoffen*," and that, as brave old Sam Johnson said, "Useful diligence will at last prevail."

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BY FREDERICK SAUNDERS, CHIEF LIBRARIAN

Sir Thomas Bodley—who, toward the close of his life, founded the great library which bears his name—once remarked concerning the renowned city of colleges, that it had everything but an adequate library. With some modifications, this observation might have been considered applicable to this metropolis—the city of Mr. Astor's adoption—when he founded the library that bears his name.

John Jacob Astor was born at Waldorf, near Heidelberg, Germany, in the year 1763. When only sixteen, he left his father's farm, setting out, on foot, for the Rhine; and when resting under a tree, he is said to have made these three resolves—"to be honest, industrious, and never gamble"; and it is added that he adhered to them throughout his long life. He went to his elder brother, at London, and engaged with him in business some three years, after which he came to New York. This was in 1783; subsequently, he embarked in the fur trade, which he prosecuted with such energy and success that in ten years his establishment at the mouth of the Columbia river, known as Astoria, had its agencies in England, Germany, France, and indeed in all parts of the civilized world. At the beginning of the present century, he shrewdly invested in the real estate of the then young city of New York to such an extent that his property continued to augment so largely as to constitute him the most opulent merchant in the United States, if not in America.

Although the Astor library may not claim precedence over other public libraries of New York city in the order of time, yet in respect of its distinctive character as a cosmopolitan library of reference for scholars, its claim to priority will not be disputed. As to the origin of the institution, it may suffice to cite the words of its first librarian, Dr. Joseph G. Cogswell, which are the following: "For the existence of this library, the community are indebted to the generosity of the late John Jacob Astor. It was a kind impulse of his own heart which prompted him to do this noble act. He wished, as he said, by some permanent and valuable memorial to testify his grateful feelings toward the city in which he had so long lived and prospered. When he consulted with his friends as to

the object to which his intended liberality should be applied, the plan of founding a public library was most approved, and his decision was promptly taken in favor of it. Nor was it owing to any misgiving or wavering in opinion that the accomplishment of the purpose was not effected in his lifetime." In a subsequent letter, Dr. Cogswell wrote, under date of July 20, 1838, the following: "Early in January, Mr. Astor consulted me about an appropriation of some three or four hundred thousand dollars, which he intended to leave for public purposes, and I urged him to give it for a library, which I finally brought him to agree to do; and I have been at



THE ASTOR LIBRARY.

work ever since settling all the points which have arisen in the progress of the affair."¹ Washington Irving and Fitz-Greene Halleck cordially indorsed the proposition of the establishment of a public library; and yet the matter was kept in abeyance until March, 1842, when Dr. Cogswell received the appointment of librarian, and measures were put into operation for the erection of the library building. Meanwhile, Dr. Cogswell commenced the (to him) congenial service of book-hunting at home and abroad—an office for which his eminent bibliographical and critical scholar-

¹ Cogswell's *Life and Letters*.

ship so signally qualified him. The board of trustees therefore authorized him to visit the literary centres of the old world, for the purpose of obtaining the rare foundation works in the several departments of learning adapted to the higher order of study in all branches of art, science, and literature. It so happened that he was singularly opportune in his earlier visits to the great book-marts of Europe. In its several capitals—London, Paris, Leipzig, Rome, Stockholm, and elsewhere—his purchases were a great success; and at the auction sale of the celebrated library of the Duke of Buckingham he secured many very rare and choice works of art and of renown. It having been the original design to form a library that should be adequate to meet the demands of advanced students, the selection of its books has been uniformly governed by a recognition of that fact.

In a republic of such free political institutions as ours, intellectual culture is a necessity, since it affords a guaranty of our national greatness, if not, indeed, of our national existence. The leading capitals of the old world have long since proved the vast importance of such beneficent institutions; and it may justly be deemed a matter of gratulation and national honor that the metropolitan city of the new world should thus emulate their example. Yet, not in New York only is this the case; the like liberal endowments have since become conspicuous in the principal cities of the United States. Thus, our public libraries may be said to unite with our colleges and schools, harmoniously combining their aid for the universal elevation of the people—the one supplementing the other. As pioneer in this important work, the Astor library may thus prove to America what the library of the British Museum has so long been to Great Britain—"The Scholars' Court of Appeals." Differing from the popular circulating libraries, the Astor is a consulting or reference library, its books being freely accessible to all visitors. It is a literary laboratory, where are engendered those mental forces that propel the industrial achievements of the age; where may be seen many an earnest worker who,

with calm, inquiring looks,
Has culled the ore of wisdom from his books—
Cleared it, sublimed it, till it flow'd refined
From his alembic crucible of mind.

Thus public libraries present many claims upon our grateful regard, since they not only educate and elevate society, but also conserve and perpetuate the intellectual treasures of past ages. It has been well said that "moral and intellectual light is all-pervading: it cannot be diffused among one class of society without its influence being felt by the whole community."

But to resume the sketch of the library. On the death of Mr. Astor, in March, 1848, and by virtue of his will, the munificent sum at that time, of four hundred thousand dollars, for the founding of a public library in New York, was conveyed to a board of trustees, selected by the testator. An act of incorporation was granted by the state legislature on the following January, and active operations were commenced for the carrying out of the requisitions of the founder. On January 9, 1854, the Astor library building, with its eighty thousand volumes, comprising an assemblage of costly works of art, and the accepted authorities in the several departments of human lore, was formally opened to public inspection. The novelty of its grand display of the great national art-productions of Europe—such as the stately volumes of the Musée Français and Raphael's Vatican—together with the prestige of the founder, naturally gave *éclat* to the occasion. The exhibition was continued several successive days, and afterward the institution was rendered available for students.

During the early years of its history, the library was honored by the visits of many distinguished personages, among them His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, with his suite, to whom a private reception was tendered by the Astor family and Dr. Cogswell, with his aids. Afterward came another notable visitor, Prince Napoleon, who was said to bear such close resemblance to the great emperor. Then, some years later, came the Japanese commissioners, who, when shown some of the portraits, in books, of their historic men, greatly marveled. After their visit the Chinese ambassadors came in great state, arrayed in their courtly costumes; their deportment so indicative of culture and refinement that it occasioned general remark. The Emperor of Brazil, Dom Pedro, was the next distinguished visitor; he seemed much interested in the library and in popular education.

Among the host of literary characters who have at various times visited the institution, it must suffice simply to mention the names of the more distinguished: Washington Irving (who was a frequent visitor), George Bancroft, Edward Everett, Fitz-Greene Halleck, S. F. B. Morse, G. P. R. James, Thackeray, Dickens, Longfellow, Emerson, Saxe, Willis, Holmes, Motley, Hawthorne, Cobden, Sparks, Gould, Greeley, and Dean Stanley. Lovers of learning, and men eminent in the various departments of art, science, and literature, have always been cordial in their commendation of the library. From a great number of such testimonials, one only is cited, as indicative of the others. Charles Sumner wrote on one occasion to his friend Theodore Parker: "I range daily in the alcoves of the Astor: more charming than the gardens of Boccaccio, and each hour a Decameron."

The Astor library soon became widely known abroad, as an evidence of which, numerous donations of important works have been made from time to time by the governments of Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Spain, Italy, Sweden, Denmark, Australia, China, and Japan; as well as by the Czar of Russia, the King of Italy, the Duke of Northumberland, and other distinguished personages.

The year 1859 was memorable in the annals of the library, on account of the lamented death of Washington Irving, its first and honored president. In this sad event the institution, in common with the world of letters, suffered severe loss. Among the numerous loving tributes to his memory, Tuckerman has voiced for us one of the best: "No one ever lived a more beautiful life; no one ever left less to regret in life; no one ever carried with him to the grave a more universal affection, respect, and sorrow."¹ In September, 1859, William B. Astor, eldest son of the founder of the library, presented to the trustees the second library building, with the ground upon which it stands. This second hall, of the same dimensions and style as the first, afforded the required facilities for the increasing accessions to the library. Upon the decease of Mr. Irving, William B. Astor was elected president of the board of trustees, which office he filled till his death. During his life he extended to the institution his fostering care, liberally augmenting its financial resources,—having by special gifts and bequests enriched its treasury to the extent of five hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The library lost a generous patron in his death.

In the year 1864 Dr. Cogswell completed his first catalogue of the library, which then comprised about one hundred thousand volumes. This herculean and self-imposed work—which, however, to him was a labor of love—he achieved while superintending the daily administration of the library. A lasting debt of gratitude is due to this devoted service from students who consult the library; since without the assistance of such a key to unlock its treasures, they would prove, to a great extent, unavailable. The board of trustees readily recognized this fact, and acknowledged the doctor's essential service by their recorded vote of thanks. Not long after the completion of this catalogue, forming four large octavo volumes, and a supplementary volume, bringing the record down to the year 1866, and including a subject-index, Dr. Cogswell tendered his resignation as superintendent, and soon after resigned his membership in the board of trustees, his impaired health demanding this action.

¹ It has been claimed that it was honor enough to be known as "the friend of Sir Philip Sidney"; a like honor may be accorded to the writer of the present sketch, in respect to the illustrious author Washington Irving.

Few men of letters could have evinced more of the *suaviter in modo* amid the varied conditions incident to the arduous duties of his profession than Dr. Cogswell, and none could have surpassed him in his unremitting labors in the formation and the interests of the institution he served so long and so well. After his retirement from his official connection with the library, the board elected as superintendent Francis Schroeder, ex-minister to Sweden, who resigned in 1870; E. R. Straznický then became the incumbent until 1875, when the trustees installed one of their number, James Carson Brevoort, who continued in office until 1878, when the present incumbent, Robbins Little, was installed. In the year 1877 Alexander Hamilton was elected president of the trustees, and this office he held until his death. The gentlemen who now compose the board of trustees are the mayor of the city of New York, *ex officio*; Hamilton Fish; Dr. Thomas M. Markoe, president; Professor Henry Drisler, secretary; John Lambert Cadwalader, Right Rev. Henry Codman Potter, Stephen Van Rensselaer Cruger; Robbins Little, superintendent; Stephen Henry Olin; Edward King, treasurer; and Charles Howland Russell.

In October, 1881, the late John Jacob Astor, the grandson of the founder, erected a third building adjoining the other two, of corresponding style and dimensions, which, with the ground, he presented to the trustees. The entire structure now has a frontage of about two hundred feet, with a depth of one hundred feet. It is built of brown-stone and brick, and is in the Byzantine order of architecture. The main floor of the library, which is twenty feet above the street level, is reached by marble steps from the vestibule, or main entrance. This entrance hall is richly frescoed and paneled; around it are twenty-four classic busts of heroes and poets in Italian marble, by a Florentine artist, from antiques. These busts, with the colored marble pedestals upon which they are placed, were presented to the library by Mrs. Franklin Delano, a sister of the late John J. Astor.

At the delivery desk, at which readers apply for books, are the printed slips upon which the title of the book desired is written, together with the name and address of the applicant. In close proximity are the two printed catalogues, which now form eight large volumes. These bring the record of the collections down to the close of 1880, and are supplemented by the card catalogue, which includes all accessions after that date. The second printed catalogue, which connects with Dr. Cogswell's, costing about forty thousand dollars, was the gift of the late John J. Astor, whose combined gifts and bequests exceeded eight hundred thousand dollars. In the central hall, westward, are glass show-cases of rare manuscripts and brilliant missals: one manuscript in golden letters on purple vellum is over twelve

hundred years old, being A.D. 870; also rare specimens of early typography, and many choice literary relics—in all estimated to be worth about one hundred thousand dollars. The central as well as the south and north halls, which are connected by arched passages, are uniformly walled around with alcoves devoted to some specific classification of subject. The same arrangement is continued in the galleries of the three halls. The north hall is devoted to histories of all nations, and the south hall to all branches of science and art. The middle or central hall, at the west end, is devoted to the patents of all nations—the British patents alone forming some five thousand volumes. The entire capacity of the library, thus enlarged, would now afford space for half a million of volumes, which is about double the extent of its accumulations, exclusive of about twelve thousand pamphlets. The total number of volumes on its shelves on January 1, 1893, was two hundred and forty-five thousand three hundred and forty-nine. The library may be said to be especially rich in some departments, such as the fine arts, architecture, archæology, Orientalia, history, the classics, dramatic literature, scientific serials, mathematics, political economy, and bibliography. It has also a very extensive collection of the transactions of the scientific and literary societies of Europe and America.

It would be impossible, within the restricted limits of this sketch, to present even an epitome of the numerous noteworthy productions that grace the alcoves of the library. With its advancing growth will inevitably come the evidences of its ever-increasing utility and appreciation. Like our Colossus of Liberty, with uplifted torch guiding the toilers of the seas to the shelter of our hospitable shores, so this monumental library, as an intellectual lighthouse, attracts literary toilers to its ever-accessible treasury of mental wealth. In the halls of the library are marble busts of its founder; of Washington Irving, its first president; and of Dr. Cogswell, its first superintendent; also life-size portraits of William B. Astor, Alexander Hamilton, the late president; Fitz-Greene Halleck; and Daniel Lord, its first treasurer. Subsequent to the death of the late John Jacob Astor, the library became enriched by the gift of his rare collection of paintings—costing originally seventy-five thousand dollars—presented by his son, William Waldorf Astor. These beautiful art-productions, by eminent foreign artists, are freely accessible to visitors on Wednesdays, during library hours, from nine A.M. until five P.M., except during the three winter months, when the hours are from nine A.M. until four P.M. The administration of the library is under the direction of the board of trustees, the several departments of its routine service being assigned to the superintendent and four librarians, with their numerous assistants.

JOHN ARCHDALE, AND SOME OF HIS DESCENDANTS

BY STEPHEN B. WEEKS

John Archdale was appointed governor-general of Carolina, August 31, 1694.¹ Of his early history we know nothing. He was the son of Thomas Archdale of Loaks, in Chipping Wycomb, Bucks county, England. In 1664 he came to New England as the agent of his brother-in-law, Governor Gorges of Maine.

The name Archdale first appears in the list of proprietors of Carolina on July 13, 1681.² This was Thomas Archdale as future entries show,³ and not John Archdale as Dr. Hawks states.⁴ Dr. Hawks says, further, that in 1684 John Archdale purchased the share of the late Sir William Berkeley, "who did not die until 1682." He is again in error; the share of William Berkeley passed, after his death in 1677,⁵ into the hands of his widow. She married Colonel Philip Ludwell, who was himself appointed governor of "that part of our province of Carolina that lies north and east of Cape Fear," December 5, 1689,⁶ and governor of Carolina, November 2, 1691.⁷ On December 14, 1683, the proprietors "approved of the bargain made by Sir Peter Colleton with Col. Philip Ludwell in behalf of the Lords Proprietors for my Lady Berkeley's right to the proprietorship that was Sir William Berkeley's for £300." This purchase was made by Colleton for the Duke of Albemarle, Earl Craven, Lord Carteret, and himself, and this proprietorship was afterwards "conveyed in trust to Thomas Amy, Esq're, for the above-named four Lords Proprietors."⁸ From the materials before me I conclude that the share which came into the possession of Thomas Archdale in 1681 was that of Sir John Berkeley, who died in 1678, for the shares of Craven, Shaftesbury, Colleton, Albemarle, and Carteret were still in the original families; Sothel had purchased the share of Earl Clarendon,⁹ Amy purchased that of William Berkeley, and only that of Sir John Berkeley could have then been on the market.¹⁰

¹ *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, i. 389.

² *Ibid.*, i. 338.

³ *Ibid.*, 360, 361, 363 seq.

⁴ Hawks, ii. 49.

⁵ He was buried July 13, 1677.

⁶ *Colonial Records*, i. 360.

⁷ *Colonial Records*, i. 373.

⁸ *Ibid.*, i. 347.

⁹ *Ibid.*, i. 339.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, i. 345, May 25, 1681, a letter was sent to the governor and council of Ashley river, in which it is said Mr. Archdale had bought "Lady Berkeley's share." (*South Carolina Hist. Soc. Colls.*, i. 106).

Archdale had become a Friend, convinced and separated from his father's house, as he tells us, by the preaching of George Fox.¹ But this conversion does not seem to have been of very serious consequence as far as the management of their share of Carolina is concerned. His name appears in all the proceedings of the proprietors as the representative of his father, and we know, from instructions sent to Governor Sothel, that an Archdale, doubtless John, was in Albemarle on December 14, 1683: "And that he [Sothel] do forthwith with the advice of Mr. Archdale choose four of the discreetest honest men of the county &c."² Again, in February, 1685, the proprietors write Sothel, and insist that he "with the advice of Mr. Archdale"³ fill certain blanks with names of men who were to serve as lords proprietors' deputies. From the letter quoted above, we know that he was in North Carolina in March, 1686.⁴ It is probable, then, that he came out to Carolina in a year or two after his father became a proprietor to look after their common interests, and while there his co-religionists, the Quakers, were not allowed to feel the need of any help he was able to give them. His presence did much, no doubt, to give them prestige in the colony, to protect them from persecution should such be attempted, and to increase their numbers. During the temporary absence of Sothel in 1685 and 1686, Archdale acted as governor of the colony, whether by the special appointment of that infamous dignitary, or because of his position as a virtual proprietor, or as the commissioned deputy of his father, we do not know. That Archdale purposed settling a part of his family in North Carolina is probable; we know that his daughter Ann married Emmanuel Lowe, a Quaker of some prominence in the colony.⁵

In 1687-88 Archdale was a commissioner for Governor Gorges in Maine. When made regularly governor of the whole of Carolina, he was not a proprietor, for his name is not on the list of "the true and absolute Lords and Proprietors," and we learn from a communication to the commissioners of customs, dated November 10, 1696, that he was administering the share of the proprietorship for his own son, who was a minor.⁶ It seems probable that Thomas Archdale, dying in the meantime, had willed his share of Carolina to his grandson, and that John Archdale, although administering it, was not himself a proprietor. He came into this dignity a few years later, probably by the death of the son.

¹ Letter to Fox in Hawks's *History of North Carolina*, ii. 378.

² *Colonial Records*, i. 346.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 350.

⁴ Not January, as Dr. Hawks states, ii. 499.

⁵ Wheeler (i. 32) says this marriage took place in July, 1688; Dr. Hawks says in 1668 (ii. 499).

⁶ *Colonial Records*, i. 467, 545.

Archdale was appointed governor of Carolina with the express hope that he would be able to heal the disturbances in South Carolina. This trouble had arisen through the popular ferment about the tenure of lands, the payment of quit-rents, the naturalization of Huguenots, and the recent annulment by the proprietors of the laws of Ludwell's parliament relating to juries and the election of representatives.¹ At last, Governor Smith wrote in despair to the proprietors that "it was impossible to settle the country, except a proprietor himself was sent over with full power to heal their grievances."² Lord Ashley, grandson of Shaftesbury, was first chosen for this duty, but he declined, and the proprietors chose Archdale in his place, with almost unlimited powers. He could sell, let, or escheat lands, appoint deputy governors in both provinces, make and alter laws. He sailed for America in January, 1695, and reached Virginia in June.³ He visited North Carolina at once, and found Thomas Harvey acting as deputy governor. He had been fulfilling this office since September 24, 1694,⁴ at least, and was now established in his office by Archdale, who then passed on to South Carolina, took up his residence in Charleston, and assumed the government, August 17, 1695.⁵ His administration of South Carolina was, as it had been formerly in North Carolina, wise, prudent, and moderate. He found a keen spirit of hostility to the French refugees, and thought best to summon his first assembly from the English inhabitants only. The difficulties were settled to the satisfaction of all except the French. The price of lands and the form of conveyance were fixed by law. Three years' rent was remitted to those who held lands by grant, and four to those who held by survey, without grant. Arrears of quit-rents were to be paid in money or commodities, as was most convenient.

Archdale held a middle position between the extremes of the church party, and at the same time had a care for his co-religionists. He enforced a military law, but exempted them from its provisions. He established a special board for deciding contests between white men and Indians, and in this way won the friendship of the latter. The hostility to the French began to abate by degrees, and in 1696 they obtained the privilege of becoming citizens. Under this beneficent rule the colony regained a tem-

¹ Rivers, *History of South Carolina*, 171.

² *Description of Carolina*, 101.

³ *South Carolina Hist. Soc. Colls.*, i. 138, 139.

⁴ Archdale succeeded Thomas Smith as governor in South Carolina. Ludwell had been made governor-general, November 2, 1691, but he seems to have been acting as governor of North Carolina as late as May 1, 1694 (*Col. Rec.*, i. 391). I have been unable to conclude from the records whether he continued to act as the executive in North Carolina after this, or appointed a deputy; if the latter, who was it? Alexander Sellington, as is commonly said?

⁵ *Description of Carolina*.

porary repose. It was increasing in wealth, and toward the close of 1696, after having held sway for a little over a year, Archdale set out for England, appointing Joseph Blake deputy governor of South Carolina. He again visited North Carolina, probably traveled through the province with Dickinson, the Quaker missionary, was present at a Palatine's court held there, December 9, 1696, and again confirmed the rule of Thomas Harvey.¹

It is likely that Archdale never returned to America. In 1698 he was elected to parliament from Chipping Wycomb, but his conscientious scruples in regard to taking the prescribed oaths prevented him from taking his seat. He was a proprietor, probably by the death of his son, at the time his *Description of Carolina* was written, which a reference to the religious troubles under Johnson fixes at a date later than 1704. His share of Carolina was transferred to his son-in-law, John Dawson, December 2, 1708,² and from this time little is seen of Archdale in the annals of the province of Carolina.³

In 1707 Archdale published in London *A New Description of that Fertile and Pleasant Province of Carolina; with a Brief Account of its Discovery and Settling, and the Government thereof to this time. With several Remarkable Passages of Divine Providence during my time.*⁴ This brochure deals almost exclusively with South Carolina affairs and does not expressly state that he had ever visited North Carolina. It is hardly a description at all; it is rather a memoir, rambling, discursive, defensive, recounting his personal experience and work as governor in Carolina. But in it he makes a strong plea for liberality and religious freedom. "Cannot dissenters kill wolves and bears, &c., as well as churchmen; as also fell trees and clear ground for plantations, and be as capable of defending the same, generally, as well as the other?"

Archdale deeded to his grandson, Nevil Lowe, a tract of land lying in Pasquotank county, North Carolina, on February 2, 1712 [1713]. This deed was acknowledged October 19, 1715, which indicates that he was

¹ *Col. Rec.*, i. 405, 546; *South Carolina Hist. Soc. Colls.*, i. 212.

² *South Carolina Hist. Soc. Colls.*, i. 177.

³ The usual statement that Archdale introduced the culture of rice into South Carolina by distributing a bag of the seed brought by a sea captain from Madagascar is an error. Rivers quotes an act of assembly for September 26, 1691, by which a reward was conferred on Jacob Peter Guerard for the invention of a "pendulum engine" for husking rice, which was superior to any machine *previously used* in the colony.

⁴ Quarto, pp. 40. Reprinted in Charleston, 1822, and included in Carroll's *Historical Collections of South Carolina*, ii. 85, 120 (New York, 1836). Doyle, in his *English in America*, p. 437, calls it "confused and rambling," and such it certainly is, but Grahame touches it more generously on its human side, and says it is full of good sense, benevolence, and piety. Cf. also Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. v., chap. v.

then still living, and, possibly, in North Carolina. This is the last notice we have of the governor. This grandson was old enough to take part in the "Cary Rebellion," 1707-1711. He was one of the leaders in the movement, and was arrested by Governor Spotswood. He seems to have been a man of attainments and culture, for we find that a commission was issued him as Secretary of North Carolina, January 31, 1711, and this at the very time when the aristocratic or church party was again coming into power, under the leadership of Governor Hyde.¹ He died before June 17, 1717. His father, Emmanuel Lowe, was a leader in the "Cary Rebellion." In fact, this uprising seems to have been a sort of family affair, for Cary was also a son-in-law of Archdale, having married his daughter, probably in South Carolina.² Emmanuel Lowe died June 11, 1727, and his wife on June 3, 1731. The descent from this couple seems to be, as far as I can restore it from the Quaker records, as follows: Their daughter, Anne, married Thomas Pendleton. They had a child, named Anna Letitia; she was born October 24, 1733, and died April 20, 1791. In September, 1750, she and Demsey Conner declared their purpose of marriage. They had one son, at least; his name was also Demsey, and he was at school in Hillsborough, N. C., in 1774. His mother married, for her second husband, John Lancaster, of Pasquotank, who had his seat at New Abbey, near Nixonton. He was a prominent man in the section, sided with the British, returned to England, leaving his family in North Carolina, broke a blood-vessel when he heard of the treaty of peace, and so expired. He was a man of so much influence that the general assembly in 1782 thought it proper to confiscate his property. The wife of the second Demsey Conner (died, 1790) was named Ann, and to them were born three children: George Archdale Lowe Conner, who died November 10, 1807; John Lancaster Conner, who was at the University of North Carolina in 1805-06, and died young, probably prior to 1810. There was one daughter, Frances Clark Pollock Conner, who first married (1808)

¹ *South Carolina Hist. Soc. Colls.*, i. 160, 182. The fact of his being appointed to such an important office would indicate that he had attained a more mature age than twenty-two, which would not have been the case had his parents been married in 1688, as Wheeler states. It is refreshing to find a Quaker and a rebel occupying such a responsible position after all the claims set up, then and now, by the church party. We may also add that on November 30, 1710, the proprietors agreed to appoint Emmanuel Lowe himself, the arch rebel, to the secretaryship, and this under Hyde. *Ibid.*, i. 181.

² *South Carolina Hist. Soc. Colls.*, i. 142. There can be no doubt that this is the same man. Archdale appointed Thomas Cary, his son-in-law, receiver-general, or treasurer. Williamson (*History of North Carolina*, i. 170) says this had been the business of the rebel. This relationship was not known to me when I published my *Religious Development in the Province of North Carolina*. Colonel Cary died prior to 1720.

Joseph Blount (1785-1822), and, secondly (1834), William Hill, secretary of state for North Carolina. The sons died without issue. Mrs. Hill had one son by her first husband, who was called for his father. He died unmarried, and, so far as the writer knows, the line of John Archdale is extinct.¹

The administration of Archdale in North Carolina was short, but it seems to have been, on the whole, a successful one. The colony had been torn by political dissensions, and plundered by ignorant proprietors and villainous governors; but from the coming of Archdale until the struggle for a church establishment in 1701, North Carolina was quiet and prosperous.

There is little in North Carolina to-day to recall the name of the Quaker governor. A precinct of Bath county was called Archdale in the early years of the eighteenth century, but the name has long since given place to that of Beaufort. One of the halls of Guilford college, a Quaker institution, and a small manufacturing village in the Quaker settlement in Randolph county, are all that to-day recall the name and the virtues of the peace-loving Friend.

¹ Perhaps the earliest picture of student life at the University of North Carolina in existence is to be found in letters written from that institution in 1805 by John L. Conner, which are now in possession of the writer.

A VALUABLE REVOLUTIONARY DOCUMENT

Account of monies furnished by Lewis Pintard to the following American officers, prisoners of war, on Long Island, viz.:

OFFICERS.	RANK.	STATE.	CORPS.	AMOUNT.
James Abbott.....	Ensign.....	Connecticut.....	Ely's.....	£113 6 9
Abraham Allen.....	".....	New Jersey.....	Dye's Militia.....	45 13 8
William Allison.....	Colonel.....	New York.....	Militia.....	131 12 4
James Anderson.....	Lieutenant.....		Hazen's.....	113 6 8
Richard Andrews.....	".....	North Carolina.....	2d Battalion.....	36 19 3
William Andrews.....	".....	Massachusetts.....	Crane's Artillery.....	47 9 3
John Wm. Annis.....	".....	Pennsylvania.....	Militia Artillery.....	43 5 9
Edward Antill.....	Lieut.-Colonel.....		Hazen's.....	340 15 9
Thomas Armstrong.....	Captain.....	North Carolina.....	2d Battalion.....	36 19 3
Thomas Armstrong.....	Lieutenant.....	Pennsylvania.....	Ewin's Battalion.....	112 12 3
Richard Bacon.....	Servant to Col.	Webb.....		21 5 3
Andrew Barns.....	".....	New Jersey.....	Gloster Militia.....	43 13
Henry Bedinger.....	Lieutenant.....	Virginia.....	Rawlings's.....	150 15 4
William Bell.....	".....	Pennsylvania.....	Clotz's.....	150 15 7
Mathew Bennet.....	".....		Baxter's.....	156 19 3
Russell Bissell.....	Ensign.....	Connecticut.....	Enos's.....	74 11 6
John Blackleach.....	Lieutenant.....	".....	Bradley's.....	149 11 8
Gabriel Blakeney.....	".....	Pennsylvania.....	Watt's.....	150 13
George Blewer.....	".....	".....	4th.....	132 4 4
Theodore Bliss.....	Captain.....		Lamb's Artillery.....	47 5
James Bradford.....	D. C. Musician.....			129 14 2
Robert Bradford.....	Ensign.....	Connecticut.....	Cook's.....	137 15 11
Joshua Brainerd.....	Lieutenant.....	".....	".....	140 8 11
Henry Brewster.....	".....	New York.....	Allison's.....	114 8 4
Thomas Brickell.....	Volunteer.....	Virginia.....	Nansimond county.....	26 5
Joseph Britton.....	Lieutenant.....		Guest's.....	101 13 10
Robert Brown.....	".....	Pennsylvania.....	Baxter's.....	150 8 4
James Bruyn.....	Lieut.-Colonel.....	New York.....	Dubois's.....	146 19
Jonathan Bryan, Esq.	Inhabitant.....	Georgia.....		206 18
Edward Bulkeley.....	Captain.....	Connecticut.....	S. B. Webb's.....	83 18 6
Moses Butler.....	Lieutenant.....	".....	Sloop Ranger.....	29 15 3
Nehemiah Carpenter.....	Quartermaster.....	New York.....	Dubois's.....	113 6 10
Ebenezer Carson.....	Lieutenant.....	Pennsylvania.....	10th.....	119 8 10
Asher Carter.....	".....	".....	McIlvain's Militia.....	112 14 9
Robert Chesley.....	".....	Maryland.....	2d.....	116 4 5
Aaron Chew.....	".....	West Jersey.....	Militia.....	110 14 1
Charles Clark.....	".....	Pennsylvania.....	2d Northern Militia.....	112 9 10
John Clark.....	".....	Virginia.....	8th.....	112 12 3
Henry Clayton.....	".....	Pennsylvania.....	Swoope's.....	31 10
George Combs.....	Captain.....	New York.....	Drake's Militia.....	26 10 10
John Connelly.....	Lieutenant.....	Pennsylvania.....		26 5
Jesse Cook.....	".....	Connecticut.....	Bradley's.....	148 2 7
Thomas Cook.....	".....	New Jersey.....	Forman's.....	146 2 2
Peter Coonrad.....	".....	Pennsylvania.....	5th Northumberland.....	112 14 9
Jacob Covenhoven.....	Captain.....	New Jersey.....	1st Horse.....	46 18 8
Carried forward.....				£4,803 15 1

OFFICERS.	RANK.	STATE.	CORPS.	AMOUNT.
Brought forward.				£4,803 15 1
Thomas Coverly	Ensign	Virginia	9th	112 14 9
Joseph Cox	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	6th	121 2 6
John Cozens	Captain	New Jersey	Gloster, 1st	37 18 4
John Craig	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	Baxter's	150 15 7
Joseph Crane	Captain	New York	Volunteer Company	100 7 7
Isaac Crane	Adjutant	"	Field's	135 1 7
John Crawford	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	Watt's	150 15 7
William Crawford	"	"	5th	157 10
Charles M. Croxall	"	Maryland	Hartley's	112 14 8
John Cudner	"	New York	Drake's Militia	26 9 2
Samuel Culver	Ensign	Conn. Militia	Hooker's Regiment	26 5
Samuel Culverson	Captain	Pennsylvania	Montgomery's	31 10
John Cunningham	Lieutenant	"	2d Lan. Militia	112 12 5
Nathaniel Darby	Ensign	Virginia	9th	112 12 4
William Darke	Major	"	8th	119 11 8
Robert Darlington	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	Watt's	31 10
Hezekiah Davis	"	"	Montgomery's	150 10 8
Benjamin Davis	"	"	Swoope's	31 10
Rezin Davis	"	Maryland	Rawlings's	150 15 7
Peter Decker	Captain	Pennsylvania	5th Battalion	31 10
Samuel Dodge	Lieutenant	New York	Dubois's	96 8 5
Andrew Dover	"	Pennsylvania	5th	162 10 9
Ephraim Douglass	Quartermaster	"	8th	139 19 5
Lebbeus Drew	Lieutenant	Massachusetts	Shepherd's	122 4 9
Baron D'Uertritz	Captain	Pennsylvania	Armand's	115 19 5
John Duguid	Lieutenant	"	3d	154 2 7
Nathaniel Edwards	"	Connecticut	Bradley's	150 13
Samuel Eldred	"	Massachusetts	1st	112 12 4
William Ellis	Major	N. Jersey Militia	Ellis's Regiment	31 10
John Ely	Colonel	Connecticut	2d	125 19 7
John Erwin	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	Baxter's	189 15 5
Abner Everit	"	"	"	150 15 5
Moore Fauntleroy	Captain	Maryland	Light Dragoons, 4th	114 10 1
Ephraim Feno	"	New York	Lamb's Artillery	132 17 10
William Ferguson	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	Proctor's	139 19 6
Reuben Field	"	Virginia	8th	112 9 5
John Finley	"	Pennsylvania	5th	150 18 2
Samuel Finley	"	Virginia	Rawlings's	150 13
Samuel Fisher	Captain	Pennsylvania	Murray's Militia	47 9 2
Peregrine Fitzhugh	Cornet	"	3d Light Dragoons	136 0 4
Nathaniel Fitz Randolph	Captain	New Jersey	Militia	
Robert Foster	Ensign	Virginia	15th	112 2 8
John Furman	Lieutenant	New York	Dubois's	130 19 6
Nathaniel Galt	Captain	Pennsylvania	Navy	118 9 10
Mark Garret	Forage Master	"		107 18 9
William George	Lieutenant	Virginia	Rawlings's	150 15 5
Gasper Geyer	Sub-Lieutenant	Philadelphia		43 13
Samuel Gilbert	Captain	Massachusetts	Prescot's	36 2 5
Adam Gilchrist	As. Com. Forage	"		100 0 3
George Gilchrist	Captain	Virginia	9th Regiment	31 10
Aquilla Giles	Major	"		153 13 4
Erasmus Gill	Lieutenant	4th Light Dragoon	31 10	
Oliver Glean	Quartermaster	New York	Dubois's	114 8 6
Henry Godwin	Captain	"	Putnam's	127 3 10
Nathan Goodale	"	Massachusetts	Price's	141 8 2
Richard Grace	Lieutenant	Maryland		161 1 11
Carried forward.				£10,805 18 8

OFFICERS.	RANK.	STATE.	CORPS.	AMOUNT.
Brought forward.				£10,805 18 8
Thomas Granbery	Volunteer	Connecticut	Webb's	26 5
Jesse Grant	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	Buck's Co. Militia	131 11 8
John Green	Ensign	"	Navy	112 14 9
Francis Grice	Captain	"	Lutz's	125 9 2
Jacob Groul.	Surgeon	"	Baxter's	31 10
Peter Harkenburgh.	Ensign	"		31 14 3
Nathan Hale	Colonel	New Hampshire	2d	63
Edward Hall	Lieutenant	Maryland	Late Forman's	84 13 3
Elihu Hall	"	"	1st	135 2 4
Benjamin Halstead.	"	New York	Allison's	116 11 7
Henry Hambright	Captain	Pennsylvania	Clotz's	31 10
Henry Hardman.	"	Maryland	Griffith's	42
John Harper	Major	Pennsylvania	Humphrys's	148 19 6
John Haviland.	Lieutenant	New Jersey	Jaque's Militia	26 5
Nicholas Haussegger	Colonel	"		103 16 5
John Hays	Captain	Virginia	9th	112 12 3
Edward Heston.	"	Pennsylvania		43 10 6
Robert Higgins.	"	Virginia	8th	112 11 10
Philip Hill	Lieutenant	Maryland	2d	182
Rignal Hillary	Ensign	"	1st	115 19 8
Thomas Hobby.	Lieut.-Colonel	Connecticut	Bradley's	165 16 1
Robert Hodgson.	Major	Delaware	5th	43 13
John Holiday	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	Watt's	150 10 8
Jonathan Holmes	"	New Jersey	Martin's	150 11
Samuel Holmes.	Captain	New Hampshire	Knolton's	44 12 7
Israel Honeywell	"	New York	Drake's	26 9 2
Elisha Hopkins.	Adjutant	Connecticut	S. B. Webb's	174 11 11
James Humphrey.	Captain	New York	McCloughry's	115 17 1
Ephraim Hunter.	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	Watt's	150 13 2
John Hunter	"	New York	McCloughry's	119 0 2
John Hutchin.	"	New Jersey	Shreeve's	112 14 9
John V. Hyatt.	"	Delaware	Hall's	112 12 5
Charles Jackson	A. D. Q. Gen.	New York	Dubois's	26 5
Pattin Jackson.	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	Baxter's	116 11 6
Daniel Jamison.	"	"	5th	31 10
Thomas Janney	"	"	Baxter's	152 6 2
John Johnson	Adjutant	"		150 15 8
James Jones.	Lieutenant	"	8th Chester County	112 14 9
Levin Joynes.	Major	Virginia	9th	117 0 10
James Irvine	Brig.-General	New York	Drake's Militia	223 15 1
Isaac Theeler.	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	8th Cumberland	26 9 2
John Ther.	"	"	Baylor's	112 14 8
John Thilty.	Cornet	Pennsylvania	McCallister's	110 18 9
Hugh Thing.	Lieutenant	New York	Drake's	26 9 2
James Thronkhytt.	Captain	North Carolina	2d Battalion	36 19 2
N. Laurence.	Lieutenant	Connecticut	Meigs'	91 2 8
Asa Lay	"	"	Hazen's	144 5 1
Andrew Lee.	"	New York	Dubois's	60 13 9
Abraham Legget.	Ensign	Maryland	2d	126 14 5
John Levacher.	"	Massachusetts	Bradford's	112 14 9
Rufus Lincoln.	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	Montgomery's	157 12
Samuel Lindsay.	"	Maryland	Rawlings's	150 13
James M. C. Lingan.	"	New Jersey	Holmes's	52 8 2
Theophilus Little.	"	"	Hendrickson's	113 6 9
Thomas Little.	"	"	Martin's	112 12 5
Bateman Lloyd.	"			
Carried forward.				£16,349 0 9

OFFICERS.	RANK.	STATE.	CORPS.	AMOUNT.
Brought forward.				£16,349 0 9
Samuel Logan.	Major	New York	Dubois's	132 4 2
Thomas H. Lucket.	Lieutenant	Maryland	Rawlings's	150 13
Henry Lyler.	"	"	3d	116 2
Robert Magaw.	Colonel	Pennsylvania	6th	123 6 10
Luke Marbury.	"	"	11th Militia	128 9 10
Daniel Marlin.	Captain	New York	Graham's	51 4 5
Joseph Martin.	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	Baxter's	150 15 5
Thomas Martin.	"	Virginia	9th	112 14 9
William Martin.	"	Pennsylvania	Proctor's	106 6 9
John Massey.	"	Maryland	26th Militia	112 12 3
George Mathews.	Colonel	Virginia	9th	164 6 4
Monsr. de Mauleon.			Dubois's	29 8
Alexander McArthur.	Lieutenant	New York	Dubois's	120 11 10
Alexander McCashey.	D. Com. For.			107 14
James McClaughry.	Lieut.-Colonel	New York	2d Militia	131 12 1
John McClaughry.	Ensign	"	Dubois's	115 12 3
John McDonald.	Captain	Pennsylvania	Swoope's	31 10
Samuel McClellan.	Lieutenant	"	Montgomery's	31 10
Samuel McFarland.	"	New Jersey	1st Gloster County	107 7 3
Samuel McHatton.	Ensign	Pennsylvania	Watt's	150 10 8
Michael McKnight.	Captain	N. Jersey Militia	3d Regiment	34 15 4
John Meals.	"	Virginia	Spotsylv. Militia	26 9 2
John Mercer.	Lieutenant	New Jersey	Ogden's	113 11 4
Thomas Millard.	"	Philadelphia	Militia	9 11 10
James Moor.	Captain	Delaware	Hall's	112 14 9
James Morris.	Lieutenant	Connecticut	Bradley's	112 12 5
Joseph Morrison.	"	Pennsylvania	McCallister's	150 15 4
Ebenezer Mott.	"	New York	Dubois's	124 9 10
Jacob Moyen.	Ensign	Pennsylvania	Swoope's	31 10
Jacob Mumme.	"	"	Baxter's	150 15 5
Henry Murfit.	Lieutenant	"	5th Militia	133 18 9
Francis Murray.	Major	"	33d	100 3 5
Godfray Myer.	Lieutenant	"	Baxter's	150 15 5
Sands Niles.	Ensign	Connecticut	Ely's	113 4 5
Christopher Omdorff.	Lieutenant	Maryland		174 10 2
Thomas Parker.	"	Virginia	9th	118 12 5
Abraham Parsons.	"	New Jersey	2d Militia	132 9 11
Robert Patton.	"	Pennsylvania	Swoope's	157 12 6
James Paul.	Ensign	New Jersey	2d Regiment	79 0 3
Henry Pawling.	Lieutenant	New York	Dubois's	116 13 10
Thomas Payne.	"	Virginia	9th	112 12 3
Joseph Payne.	Ensign	"	"	112 12 3
Nathaniel Pendleton.	Lieutenant	"	Rawlings's	150 12 10
Solomon Pendleton.	"	New York	Dubois's	121 18 5
Tobias Polhemus.	"	New Jersey	1st Monmouth	127 10
David Poor.	"	Massachusetts	Hutchison's	147 17 10
David Potter.	Colonel	New Jersey	2d Cumberland Mil.	98 10 1
John Poulson.	Captain	Virginia	9th	112 12 3
William Preston.	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	Knox's Artillery	112 14 9
Nathaniel Ramsey.	Lieut.-Colonel	Maryland	3d	316 18 1
Robert Randolph.	Lieutenant		3d Light Dragoons	163 15 7
Thomas Reid.	Ensign	Pennsylvania	McAllester's	31 10
Isaac Requa.	Adjutant	New York	Drake's Militia	86 12 7
Thomas Reynolds.	Lieut.-Colonel	New Jersey		26 5
Nathaniel Reynolds.	Lieutenant	New York	Drake's Militia	26 9 2
Abijah Richardson.	Surgeon's Mate	Massachusetts	Greaton's	68 18 2
Carried forward.				£22,465 8 4

OFFICERS.	RANK.	STATE.	CORPS.	AMOUNT.
Brought forward.				£22,465 8 4
Josiah Riddick	Volunteer	Virginia	Nansimond county.	26 5
John Riley	Lieutenant	Connecticut	S. B. Webb's.	134 18 9
William Robertson	Adjutant	Virginia	9th	112 9 10
John Robins	Ensign	"	"	112 14 8
Andrew Robinson	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	Swoope's	102 9 1
William Rogers	"	Virginia	4th	101 13 11
Thomas Rowse	Ensign	Maryland	Price's	116 2
John Rudolph	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	5th	150 15
Samuel Rutherford	Ensign	"	Clotz's	31 10
Robert Sample	Captain	"	10th	103 19 5
John Scarborough	Ensign	Virginia	9th	112 12 3
James Semmes	Lieutenant	Maryland	1st	101 11 8
Lemuel Sherman	Master of Galley	Washington	"	33 16 7
Isaac Shimer	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	Baxter's.	147 3 4
Zacharias Shugart	"	"	Swoope's	150 15 4
Joseph Shurtleff	A.D.Q.M. Gen.			100 7 7
G. Selleck Silliman	Brig.-General	Connecticut		89 9 2
William Silliman	Major	"	Silliman's	26 9 2
Edward Smith	Lieutenant	Virginia	Rawlings's	154 12
Jonathan Smith	Ensign	"	8th	112 12 3
James Smith	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	Proctor's.	47 5
John Smock	Lieut.-Colonel	New Jersey	1st Militia	44 14 7
Charles Snead	Lieutenant	Virginia	9th	112 5
Smith Snead	Captain	"	"	112 9 10
Silas Snow	Lieutenant	Delaware	4th Militia	43 13
Jacob Sommer	Ensign	Philadelphia Co.	Militia	43 14 4
William Standley	Lieutenant	"	5th	150 15 7
Roger Stayner	Captain	"	2d	112 14 7
Lord Stirling	Major-General			20 9 6
Charles Stockley	Ensign	Virginia	9th	112 12 3
John Stotsbury	Captain	Pennsylvania	11th	79 7 7
Abraham Stout	Lieutenant	New Jersey	2d	112 12 3
Aaron Stratton	"	Massachusetts		150 10 9
John Swan	Captain		3d Light Dragoons	170 9 5
Cornelius Swartwout	Lieutenant	New York	Lamb's Artillery	116 13 10
Henry Swartwout	Ensign	"	Dubois's	113 6 8
Michael Swoope	Colonel	Pennsylvania		51 0 7
Thomas Tanner	Lieutenant	Connecticut	Bradley's	150 10 9
Severn Teackle	"	Virginia	9th	112 14 9
James Teller	Captain	New York	Drake's.	26 9 2
John Thatcher	"	Connecticut	Swift's	115 13 6
Thomas Thomas	Colonel	New York	West. Ches. Militia.	46 12 11
William Thompson	Brig.-General			119 17 4
Andrew Thompson	Ensign	New Jersey		84 17 10
Thomas Thweatt	Captain	Virginia	10th Regiment	78 10 9
Edward Tillard	Major	Maryland	6th	182 6 5
Oliver Towles	"	Virginia	"	116 8 2
Charles Turnbull	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	Proctor's	139 0 2
Leonard Van Bueren		New York		31 3 4
Jacob Van Tassel	Lieutenant	"	Hammond's Milit.	35 4 4
G. H. Van Wagennen	D. Com. Pris.			9 16
Robert Walker	Lieutenant	Massachusetts	Brewer's	112 12 5
Benjamin Wallace	Captain	Pennsylvania	Montgomery's	31 10
Bernard Ward	"	"	Atlee's.	155 1 5
Joseph Ward	Com. of Musters			89 2 10
Thomas Warman	Lieutenant	Virginia	Rawlings's	152 10 3
Carried forward				£27,962 12 5

OFFICERS.	RANK.	STATE.	CORPS.	AMOUNT.
Brought forward.				£ 27,962 12 5
David Waterbury	Brig.-General			105 0 4
Mason Wattles	Lieutenant	Massachusetts	5th Battalion	36 15
Samuel B. Webb	Colonel			303 7 5
John Weidman	Ensign			112 14 7
Ebenezer West	Adjutant	Connecticut	Ely's	113 4 4
Joel Westcoat	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	3d	79 11 1
Samuel Whiting	"	New York	Lamb's Artillery	134 18 9
James Whitlock	"	New Jersey	Scudder's	113 6 9
Daniel Williams	Captain	New York	Graham's	91 6 7
James Willing	"	Virginia	Navy	148 5 10
John Willis	"	Maryland	2d Regiment	80 18 10
James Winchester	Lieutenant		2d	115 17 2
Erastus Wolcott	"	Connecticut	Webb's	83 7 2
Tarlton Woodson	Major	Maryland	Hazen's	133 11 10
Robert Woodson	Lieutenant	Virginia	9th	112 12 4
George Wright	Major	Pennsylvania	Montgomery's	43 5 9
Thomas Wynn	Lieutenant	"	McCallester's	150 15 4
William Young	"			150 15 4
Total.				£ 30,072 6 10



AN AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPT OF AMERICUS VESPUCIUS

BY WALTER SIBBALD WILSON

There has just been found at the Riccardiana Library, in Florence, a manuscript volume of Americus Vespucius, which has hitherto escaped the notice of those who have interested themselves in the life of the great Florentine navigator. It is entitled *Vespucci Amerigo, Dettati da mettere in latino*, and is a small volume, five and two-thirds by four and one-fifth

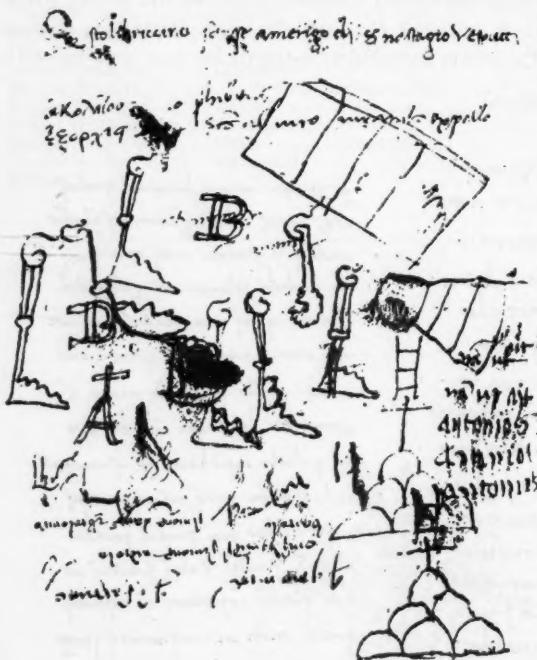
nme species auctorū

sempre amato gluomur
ruej, & c. uoluto bene a tutti
quagli ob. cerobono leonoro, o.
iudicio da certi mia amici chome-
ri odi uolentier dn intendere
qualche chose bendic prima
auero uedute alcune tua le-
tere le quali molto mito dorono
lanimo & andoro medilestono
assai quando le leggo & pighia-
uone questi di grā piacere
poich io lebbi diuouio riceuute
desidero to ḡra tua buona uo-
glia partorisca qualc frutto
accio io trouo int̄ qualche
uolta quello tesoro el quale
perme & p̄ gli amici mia, o.
sempre ricordato

go semper amauit homines probos
acq̄ amici dilexi q̄ virtutes iſque
andis & gloriā mei amici uo-
ri audidis lobenter eſq̄ alioſ ſol
ligiū quāq̄ non nullas rues late-
ras antea uideram q̄ mei ani-
mum valde tetigere me q̄ &
uonenter detestant q̄n eſq̄ lo-
biſ p̄ diſt capiebam. q̄c. if magna
uoluptatem poſtq̄ eſq̄ nup̄ accepi
cupio ut hoc tuū pudicū p̄mitat
aliquē fructū l'aliq̄ fructus ut
&c. alioq̄ reperiam cu' eſq̄ uo-
quem mihi ac mei amici ſemper
exquiciat

inches, containing one hundred and eighty-eight leaves. It is executed in the beautiful round handwriting of the fifteenth century, and is bound in parchment. The title is not contemporaneous with the manuscript, but was given to it by Lami. Vespucius was born in Florence on March 9, 1451; at the age of twenty-seven he visited Paris with a distant rela-

tive, returning to his native city in 1480. Ten years later he set out for Spain, and it was during the years just previous to this departure that he is supposed to have written the manuscript volume under consideration. The book contains a series of exercises in grammar, but of a peculiar character. Vespuccius had experienced a strong desire to master the Latin language thoroughly, and with this object in view he wrote sentences in Italian, to which he could apply a given grammatical rule, and afterwards translated them into Latin. On each right-hand page there is a subject which fills it entirely, and which is the development of a single main idea; and at the top, on the margin of the leaf, are found certain rules indicated, the application of which is necessary to translate the subject into Latin. But instead of writing "foolish and puerile propositions similar to those found in many of our modern grammars, such as, 'the cat of my uncle's brother is much pleased with the dog of my cousin's aunt,' he wrote, in Italian, sentences having in general a deep purport, and this purport was



suggested to him by the atmosphere of Florence in which he lived, and then ruled by Lorenzo the Magnificent. This opinion seems to me confirmed by reading the whole manuscript."¹

In the accompanying photographs are shown; first, the reverse side of the first leaf (page 2 of the book), with the Italian composition written in a firm, exquisite hand; and on the second leaf (page 3 of the book) is shown the Latin translation of the opposite page. The range of subjects

¹ G. Uzielli, in *Toscanelli* for January, 1893.

covered is wide; they are of a philosophical character, and give evidence of a thoughtful mind. In one, Vespuclius, who did not believe that theology could explain natural phenomena, such as meteoric displays, and showers of blood, etc., addresses the following ironical inquiry to the believers: "Oh! priest, from whom counsel has been so often sought in the times when it has thundered, or the lightnings have flashed, when the thunderbolt has fallen, or when the hail has destroyed, when it has rained or snowed in an extraordinary manner, as if the nations truly believed thee to be the god Apollo, who, as the poets imagine, possesses a knowledge of future things as well as things present and past! what advice wouldst thou give to this people if it rained stones, or blood, or flesh, as one reads in the old chronicles?"¹

In another "exercise" he lays down the fundamental problem of the science of the emotions; and in a third he enunciates a precept of hygiene and of morality. Leaf 188, also shown in the photograph, and which is the last in the book, contains at the top the following declaration: "Amerigo de Ser Anastagio Vespucci wrote this little book." Under these words there are some scrawls and several lines of writing, in part from the hand of Vespuclius, in part made by other persons, as may be seen in the photograph herewith. There can be read two Greek words, with their pronunciation: "akolitos," "exorkist"; the Latin words "non prohibitus," "abjuro juramento expello"; some names repeated several times, such as Antonius, Simone. Upon examination it appears that although Vespuclius had written all the Italian composition in his book of exercises, he had only translated six pages into Latin. This may readily be accounted for from the fact that, at that period, it was unsafe for any one to write his opinions in too free and open a manner. Lorenzo the Magnificent was in power, and he was an unscrupulous ruler. "Possessed of high ability, great in the policy of trifling expedients, but extravagant to excess, the slave of his passions and incapable in business matters, Lorenzo did not hesitate to use the public treasure for his own needs, and to lay hands on the dowers deposited in the banks of the Republic, and which belonged to the young daughters of Florence." This little manuscript volume will prove a valuable addition to the literature in existence referring to Americus Vespuclius.

¹ *Toscanelli* for January, 1893.

THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. JOHN THE DIVINE

BY ALLAN GRANT

On a bitter cold afternoon at the close of the year 1892, the anniversary of St. John the Evangelist's Day, December 27, the corner-stone of the Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine was laid with solemn and appropriate ceremonies. The site of this cathedral, destined when com-



CATHEDRAL OF ST. JOHN THE DIVINE.

pleted to rival the grandest ecclesiastical edifices of Europe, extends from One Hundred and Tenth to One Hundred and Thirteenth streets, and from Morningside to Tenth avenues, New York. It is at present occupied by the buildings of the Leake and Watts Orphan Asylum. A point just east of the asylum, and overlooking the broad valley below, was selected for

laying the corner-stone, a polished block of Quincy granite, four feet four inches square by two feet four and a half inches deep. Owing to the season of the year a temporary wooden structure of cruciform shape, covered by a canvas roof, steam heated, and capable of seating comfortably a thousand persons, had been provided.

In the centre of the building was seen the stone, around which a platform with a lectern in one corner had been erected, and at each angle was displayed the American flag. The floors of the whole building, as well as of the platform, were carpeted. Necessarily only a limited number (eleven hundred) of admission tickets were sent out, and to the holders of these were assigned seats in the nave. The chancel was set apart for the clergy, the left transept for the various church societies, and the right transept for the choir and the students of the General Theological Seminary. The clergy, students, and choristers assembled in the asylum, and at three o'clock the procession entered, led by the marshal carrying a silver mace. He was followed by the musicians, and behind them came seventy members of the Church Choral Society, and the students of the General Theological Seminary, all of whom took seats in the south transept. The trustees of Columbia College and of St. Luke's Hospital were next in order, and sat in the north transept. The clergy came next, walking two by two, and separating at the corner-stone to meet and sit together in the chancel. The line extended from the tent to the asylum, and numbered about two hundred and fifty persons in all. Following the clergy were the architect and the builder. The trustees of the cathedral, wearing purple sashes, were next in order, and were seated on the left side of the platform. Then came the bishops. As the clergy entered the building they read with Bishop Potter, responsively, the processional psalms, "Lord, who shall dwell in Thy tabernacle?" and "I was glad when they said unto me." When the clergy had taken their places in the chancel the sight was most impressive. The white robes, the colored stoles and hoods of many hues, contrasted with the darkly dressed congregation, made a pleasing picture. The bishops sat in the midst of the chancel.

The services were conducted by Bishop Potter and Drs. Dix and Huntington, Chief Justice Fuller taking part in the programme. Bishop Doane delivered the address. The following articles were deposited beneath the stone:

The Holy Bible.

The Book of Common Prayer, according to the Standard of 1892.

The Hymnal of the Church.

Journals of the convention of the diocese of New York, 1882-92.

Journals of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, 1889-92.

General James Grant Wilson's *Centennial History of the Diocese of New York*, 1886. *Spirit of Missions*, December, 1892.

Church papers—*The Churchman, Standard, and Living Church*.

Daily newspapers of December 27, 1892.

The *Church Almanac*, *Whittaker's Almanac*, *Living Church Quarterly*, and *Tribune Almanac*, 1893.

Catalogue of the General Theological Seminary, 1892-93.

Catalogue of St. Stephen's College, 1892-93.

Form of the office of the cathedral corner-stone laying.

Names of the trustees of the cathedral.

Charges and addresses delivered by the Rt. Rev. Henry C. Potter on "Law and Loyalty in the Church" before the one hundred and third convention of the diocese of New York; on "The Offices of Wardens and Vestrymen;" and on "The Relation of the Clergy to the Faith and Order of the Church," at the one hundredth anniversary of the consecration of the bishops for the Church in America by English bishops in Lambeth; at the dedication of All Saints' cathedral, Albany; at the one hundredth anniversary of the inauguration of George Washington as President of the United States, in St. Paul's chapel, **April 29, 1889.**

Letters of Bishop Potter to the people and clergy of the diocese concerning the cathedral, 1887.

Badge and rules of prayer and service of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew.

Fragments of brick from the first church in America, bearing inscription on silver plate: "From the ruins of the First Christian City of the New World, where the first church was erected by Christopher Columbus, 1493.—Isabella, Hispaniola."

Medal of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society.

List of the officers of the governments of the United States, the state and the city of New York.

Coins of the United States.

Lists of objects deposited in corner-stone.

The illustration accompanying this article is the one selected by the trustees from among several designs which were submitted to them. Some modifications of the original have already been decided upon, and others may possibly be adopted hereafter. It is estimated that the total cost of the cathedral will be about ten millions of dollars, and it is hoped that it may be completed within a very few years of the close of the present century. Several persons have subscribed one hundred thousand dollars each, and one generous person, whose name is withheld, has given half a million of dollars.

Head Quarters Armies of the United States,

City Point, April 3, ¹⁸⁶⁵

1865

Mr. Lincoln,

Washington, D.C.

Last night Gen. Grant tele-

graphed that Sheridan with his Cavalry and the
5th Corps had captured three brigades of In-
fantry, a train of wagons, and several batteries,
prisoners amounting to several thousands. This morn-
ing Gen. ^{having ordered an attack along the whole line} Grant telegraphed as follows:

"Both Wright and Banks got through the enemy's
lines. The battle now rages furiously. Sheridan
with his Cavalry, the 5th Corps, & Miles Division
of the 2nd Corps, which was sent to him this
A.M. is now sweeping down from the
West. All now looks highly favorable. Our
is engaged, but I have not yet heard the
result in his front."

Robert yesterday wrote a little ^{cheerful} note to
Capt. Parsons, which is all I have heard of
how you left. Copy to Secretary of War
Lincoln





THE DEATH OF EX-PRESIDENT HAYES

A special meeting of the cabinet was held in Washington, D. C., on Wednesday, January 18, at which the following executive order was drafted and adopted :

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES :

The death of Rutherford B. Hayes, who was President of the United States from March 4, 1877, to March 4, 1881, at his home in Fremont, Ohio, at eleven P.M. yesterday, is an event the announcement of which will be received with very general and very sincere sorrow. His public service extended over many years and over a wide range of official duty. He was a patriotic citizen, a lover of the flag and of our free institutions, an industrious and conscientious civil officer, a soldier of dauntless courage, a loyal comrade and friend, a sympathetic and helpful neighbor, and the honored head of a happy Christian home. He had steadily grown in the public esteem, and the impartial historian will not fail to recognize the conscientiousness, the manliness, and the courage that so strongly characterized his whole public career.

As an expression of the public sorrow, it is ordered that the executive mansion and the several executive departments at Washington be draped in mourning and the flags thereon placed at half-staff for a period of thirty days, and that on the day of the funeral all public business in the departments be suspended, and that suitable military and naval honors, under the orders of the secretaries of war and of the navy, be rendered on that day.

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., January 18, 1893.

By the President,

J. W. FOSTER, *Secretary of State.*

On the day following, Governor McKinley, of Ohio, the ex-president's native state, issued the following proclamation :

TO THE PEOPLE OF OHIO :

It is my sorrowful duty to announce to the people of the state the death of one of its most honored citizens, Rutherford B. Hayes, which occurred on the night of the 17th inst., at his home, Fremont, Ohio. It is fitting that the people of Ohio, whom he served so long and faithfully, should take special note of the going out

of this great life, and make manifest the affectionate regard in which he was held by them.

His private life was conspicuous for its purity, gentleness, and benevolence. His public services were long and singularly distinguished. In his youth he had an important official position in the chief city of the state. He was among the first of Ohio's sons to offer his services to the cause of the Union in the late war. In battle he was brave ; and wounds he received in defending his country's flag were silent but eloquent testimonials to his gallantry and patriotism and sacrifice. From major of the Twenty-third Ohio Infantry he reached the high rank of a major general of volunteers, commanding a division ; beloved by his comrades and

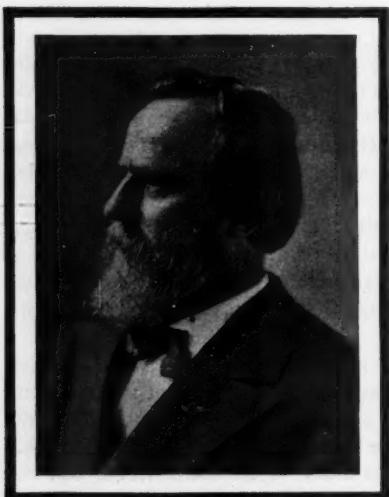
respected by all. While in the field he was elected to the national house of representatives, but his sense of duty impelled him to decline to serve in congress while the country was imperiled. Subsequently he performed honorable service in that body. For two successive terms he was elected Governor of Ohio, and after a period of retirement he was again chosen the chief executive of the state. Then the nation called him to the presidency, and he performed the duties of that high office with dignity, faithfulness, and ability.

From the completion of his term as President of the United States until his death he was an exemplification of the noblest qualities of American citizenship in its private capacity ; modest and unassuming, and yet public-spirited, ever striving for the well-being of the people, the relief of distress, the reformation of

abuses, and the practical education of the masses of his countrymen. We are made better by such a life. Its serious contemplation will be helpful to all. We add to our own honor by doing honor to the memory of Rutherford B. Hayes.

I, therefore, as Governor of the State of Ohio, recommend that flags on all public buildings and schoolhouses be put at half-mast from now until after the funeral of Rutherford B. Hayes, and that, upon the first opportunity after the funeral, the people assemble at their respective places of divine worship and hold memorial services. And, as a mark of respect, I do order that on the day of the funeral, the 20th inst., the executive office be closed.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my name and caused to be



R.B. Hayes

affixed the great seal of the state at Columbus, this the 19th day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ninety-three, and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and seventeenth.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY, JR.

By the Governor,

SAMUEL M. TAYLOR, *Secretary of State.*

The funeral of General Hayes, at Fremont, Ohio, took place on Thursday, January 19, and was attended by many distinguished persons, including Grover Cleveland, the only ex-President of the United States now living. President Harrison, who was prevented from being present in person, was represented by several members of his cabinet.

ONE OF WASHINGTON'S SWEETHEARTS

On the occasion of one of the numerous journeys which General Washington took to the North in February and March, 1756, he visited among other places Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. It is stated, too, that in New York he was impressed by the charms of a young lady, Miss Mary Philipse. A few particulars in connection with this pleasing incident may be of interest. Mary Philipse was the niece and heiress of Mr. Adolphus Philipse. The founder of the family and of the family's wealth was Frederick Philipse, owner of a vast tract of country which embraced Tarrytown and reached down to the Harlem. Upon a tax list of New York city for the year 1674 he is rated as worth eighty thousand florins (thirty-two thousand dollars), by far the richest man in town; only two men approached him in wealth, and these were rated each at fifty thousand florins (twenty thousand dollars). Frederick Philipse and his son Adolphus, after him, were in the governor's council, and intensely loyal to the king. The wealth of the family had not grown less by the year 1756. Mary Philipse was heiress to a vast amount. Her sister, likewise an heiress, had married Beverly Robinson, the son of John Robinson, who was Speaker of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, and as such had so eloquently complimented



Mary Morris

Washington when he took his seat there. Beverly had been a schoolmate of Washington's, and it was but natural that the latter should be his guest on this visit to New York. And, equally as a matter of course, Washington at this house met Mary Philipse. Irving says of this meeting :

" That he was an open admirer of Miss Philipse is an historical fact ; that he sought her hand, but was refused, is traditional, and not very probable. His military rank, his early laurels, and distinguished presence were all calculated to win favor in female eyes ; but his sojourn in New York was brief, he may have been diffident in urging his suit with a lady accustomed to the homage of society, and surrounded by admirers. The most probable version of the story is that he was called away by his public duties before he had made sufficient approaches in his siege of the lady's heart to warrant a summons to surrender."

Whatever the truth of this courtship is, it is certain that Washington did not marry her. Yet, by the strange concatenation of events in that stirring age, twenty years later he occupied her house on Harlem Heights as his headquarters. After he had gone back to Virginia a letter reached him from a friend, giving him warning that another was seeking the rich and beautiful prize. Captain Roger Morris, a fellow aid-de-camp in the Braddock campaign, was likely to win her hand. But Washington left the field clear for him. Hence Mary Philipse became Mary Morris. And when the Revolution came she clung to the traditions of her family, and remained a loyalist. Besides her wealth and beauty she was credited with possessing a strong mind and imperious will ; so much so that it was freely hinted at that time that if Washington had married her he would never have been the leader of the patriots. Captain Morris may have needed no petticoat persuasion to keep him from joining the rebels. At any rate, the wife and husband both fled to England, and their estates on Manhattan were confiscated. They owned a beautiful mansion overlooking the Harlem river and the country far beyond it. Later it came into the hands of Madame Jumel, who was married to Aaron Burr shortly before the latter's death in 1830 ; and it still stands to-day, known as the Jumel Mansion, as a lonely relic of former days, on One-hundred-and-sixty-first street near St. Nicholas avenue. It was occupied by Washington as headquarters after the battle of Long Island, and before his retreat from Manhattan island, or in the early autumn months of 1776. It may be that his thoughts reverted with fond regret to the beautiful mistress of the mansion in the happy days of youth.

TRUTH ABOUT SECESSION

" Secession " has not a pleasant sound to our ears. It has cost us too much blood and treasure. However, if there be any good ground for distributing the blame of this bad thing, do not let us be so unfair and so unhistoric as to concentrate it upon one section, and confine it to the men of one period or generation. The author of a recent book puts the matter tersely and strongly thus :

" The truth is, it is nonsense to reproach any one section with being especially

disloyal to the Union. At one time or another almost every state has shown strong particularistic leanings; Connecticut and Pennsylvania, for example, quite as much as Virginia or Kentucky. Fortunately the outbursts were never simultaneous in a majority. It is as impossible to question the fact that at one period or another of the past many of the states in each section have been very shaky in their allegiance, as to doubt that they are now all heartily loyal. The secession movement of 1860 was pushed to extremities, instead of being merely planned and threatened; and the revolt was peculiarly abhorrent because of the intention to make slavery the 'corner-stone' of the new nation; but at least it was free from the meanness of being made in the midst of a doubtful struggle with a foreign foe."

This last clause is aimed at the decided separatist sentiments and activities prevailing in the New England states during the war of 1812. It seems almost incredible (but the facts are there, and they are unmanageable things) that "half a century before the 'stars and bars' waved over Lee's last intrenchments, perfervid New England patriots were fond of flaunting 'the flag with five stripes,' and drinking to the health of the—fortunately still-born—new nation." It would seem the part of wisdom then for the pot to lay aside its habit of predicating blackness of the kettle. We have all erred on this unhappy "secesh" question, and now we have all learned to be wiser, after having had some punishment for our error. Union *after* Liberty will no longer do. It must be Liberty *and* Union, Liberty *with* Union, Liberty *through* Union. But we must cease prosing about this matter; the point is, not to forget the farther past in the overwhelming importance of the more recent past; or let us forget both together!

A STRANGE STORY

When Gouverneur Morris, our Minister at Paris during the Reign of Terror, was in France, he formed intimate friendships with many members of the royal family, even before he was accredited as the representative of our government. Among those who admired him and cherished his society was the Duchess of Orleans, the wife of the wretched Philippe Egalité, and mother of Louis Philippe, who reigned as king after the downfall of Charles X. At one of these frequent and sudden turns of fortune which were constantly bringing one or another group of "patriots" to the guillotine, General Dumouriez found it the better part of valor to seek refuge in flight. He had lost a battle, and the French red republicans had no alternative for their generals but "victory or death," in a somewhat new application of that brave motto. In his train fled Louis Philippe, and by that means escaped, probably, the fate of his father. But while he saved his life, he did not save much of worldly goods with it. In this extremity a friend of the duchess called upon Morris for aid. Remembering the mother's kindness and friendship, Morris responded at once and generously. He gave the young duke money wherewith to go to America, and directed his bankers at New York to give him unlimited

credit. When, later, "he came to his own," this generosity on the part of the American commoner was conveniently forgotten. "He was not a bad man," says Theodore Roosevelt, on whose authority we tell this story, "but he was a very petty and contemptible one; had he been born in a different station of life he would have been just the individual to take a prominent part in local temperance meetings, while he sanded the sugar he sold in his corner grocery." Morris, disgusted at the man's ignominious ingratitude, jogged his memory a little; whereupon the noble king, remembering that "*noblesse oblige*," quietly forwarded the bare original sum, without a *centime* of interest, and, what is worse, without a word of thanks. This aroused the American to still greater indignation. He now engaged a lawyer, through whom he coolly notified the royal niggard that "if the affair was to be treated on a merely business basis, it should then be treated in a strictly business way, and the interest for the twenty years that had gone by should be forwarded also." This carried the figure to seventy thousand francs, which was not fully refunded till after Morris's death, a few years after this episode. The account of this incident was obtained by Mr. Roosevelt from manuscripts in the possession of the Hon. John Jay, and has not before been presented to the public.

UNITED STATES HISTORICAL EXHIBIT AT MADRID

In his report to the Secretary of State, Mr. William G. Curtis, *attaché* of the United States Commission to the Madrid Historical Exposition, speaks as follows:

"The building in which the exposition is held is a magnificent structure of stone, simple in its architecture, but imposing in its dimensions. It stands on one of the principal avenues of the modern portion of Madrid, and is intended for the permanent home of the National Library, which now occupies an ancient monastery, but will be removed to its new quarters at the close of the exposition. The upper story of the great quadrangle is entirely occupied by the Spanish section, while the rooms upon the lower floor are assigned to Portugal, Italy, Germany, Norway and Sweden, Mexico, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay, Santo Domingo, the United States, and one or two other nations. The exhibits from these countries, with the exception of the United States, are devoted almost exclusively to historical relics and archaeological collections illustrating the condition of the native races which occupied the American continent at the time of the discovery. The United States exhibit occupies six large rooms at the left of the entrance on Calle de Serrano, and it is the most extensive of any nation except Spain. The principal room and a smaller one adjoining are occupied by a splendid exhibition selected with great care from the treasures of the Smithsonian Institute and the National Museum at Washington. The next room is occupied by an exhibit from the museum of the University of Pennsylvania, and in the adjacent apartment is a collection of objects illustrating the history and condition of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona, furnished by the generosity of Mrs. Hemingway of Boston. In two large rooms at the right of the entrance is a collection of the portraits of Columbus, with large photographic views of places in America visited by him on his several voyages, and scenes identified with his career, and photographs and medals of all the monuments that have been erected in his honor. This collection was furnished by the Bureau of the American Republic at Washington.

"But the most important and attractive portion of the exhibition is the Spanish section, in which is displayed a marvelous collection of relics of what may be termed the Golden Age of Spain, the portraits of Ferdinand and Isabella, Charles V. and Philip II., contemporary with and immediately following the discoveries of Columbus. The palaces, the museums, the libraries, the churches, the monasteries, the armories, and the art galleries of Spain have been stripped of their choicest treasures relating to this period of Spanish prosperity and magnificence, and the collection is here displayed in chronological order, arrayed and installed with rare taste and ingenuity. The ancient families of the kingdom, whose magnificent collections of art and historical subjects are seldom shown to the public, have loaned them for the exposition and have made the display complete. Several important private collections have also been brought from France, and his Holiness the Pope has contributed many articles of rare interest and variety from the museum and library at the Vatican. Although many of the objects have been on public exhibition in the several cities of Spain, it is the first time that an attempt has been made to bring them together, and there is no country so rich in historical treasures. It is gratifying to know that the greater part of the exhibits of this exposition will be transferred to Chicago next spring, and will furnish one of the most attractive features of the World's Columbian Exposition."

AN AUTOGRAPH LETTER FROM GLADSTONE

Upon the next page we give a fac-simile of a letter written by Mr. W. E. Gladstone to Douglas Campbell, the author of *The Puritan in Holland, England, and America*. The text of the letter, omitting the address, is as follows :

" HAWARDEN CASTLE, CHESTER, October 17, '92.

MY DEAR SIR,—It happened that I opened your work and read the deeply interesting Preface before I had seen your letter, and ascertained to whom I owed the gift. Allow me now to offer you the special thanks it so well deserves.

The English race (I am a pure Scotchman) are a great fact in the world, and I believe will so continue; but no race stands in greater need of discipline in every form, and, among other forms, that which is administered by criticism vigorously directed to canvassing their character and claims. Under such discipline I believe they are capable of a great elevation and of high performances, and I thank you partly in anticipation, partly from the experience already had, for taking this work in hand, while I am aware that it is one collateral and incidental to your main purpose.

Puritanism, again, is a great fact in history, exhibiting so many remarkable and noble traits. It may, perhaps, be liable to the suspicion of a want of durability. During the last century it seems to have undergone in various quarters much disintegration; and it is difficult to connect it historically with the divorce law of Connecticut. But I am wandering into forbidden ground, which my qualifications do not entitle me to tread, and I will close with expressing my sense of the value and importance of a work like yours, and of the benefit which we in particular ought to derive from it. I remain, dear sir, your most faithful and obedient,

W. E. GLADSTONE."

The significance of this letter becomes apparent when we bear in mind the great age of the writer; far beyond his fourscore, his mind is as clear and as eager for new presentations of truth as when in the vigor of his days. We must also regard his position as prime minister of a great empire; the pressure of political problems of peculiar difficulty and delicacy. Great must be his interest in the historical questions brought to view by the volumes under discussion if, amid

The English race (I am a pure
Scot in heart) are a great fact
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minated by criticism, vigorous
ly directed to encompassing
their character and claims
under such discipline I believe
they are capable of a great
liberation and of high perform-
ances.

I remain dear Sir,

Yours most faithful & Obedient,

W. Gladstone

Douglas Campbell Esq,
Auchincroll,
Cherry Valley, New York.

FAC-SIMILE OF GLADSTONE LETTER.

all this pressure, he can sit down and write this letter with his own hand, and even direct the envelope himself. Added to this is the fact of his boldness in thanking the author for his vigorous criticism of the English race, and of their claim to be the civilizers of the modern world. The book is a republican one, hostile to monarchies and aristocracies, opposed to the combination of Church and State, to the land system of England, to its system of education, and, in short, to the whole theory of the organization of its government. That the prime minister of England should write thanking the author for producing such a book, adding that it is just the thing needed by the English people, is a matter of great significance.

EDITORIAL NOTES

Paul Du Chaillu has just completed an historical novel, the scene of which is laid in Scandinavia in the third century. It will appear during the present publishing season.

The new volume of the Hakluyt Society contains a reprint of two old MSS.: *The Visit of Master Thomas Dallam to the Sultan in 1599*, and the *Story of a Sojourn at Constantinople by Dr. John Covel, Chaplain to the Embassy, 1670-1677*.

A book on Maryland, *Early Maryland, Civil, Social, and Ecclesiastical*, by the Rev. Dr. Gambrall, of Baltimore, is announced as in press by Thomas Whittaker. The same publisher is bringing out J. F. Rowbotham's *Private Life of the Great Composers*.

An Edinburgh correspondent, under date of January 10, writes to the editor that the Scottish History Society have sent to each of their subscribers Clerk of Penicuick's *Memoirs*; also, that *Blackwood's Magazine* has changed its shape, having adopted a larger page and wider margin.

Our Philadelphia correspondent is informed that Mr. Gladstone took office as premier in April, 1880, and held office till June, 1885; Lord Salisbury, from June, 1885, till January, 1886; Mr. Gladstone, from January till July, 1886; Lord Salisbury, from July, 1886, till his recent resignation.

His troops of friends at home and abroad will regret to hear that the Hon. John Jay, ex-president of the American Historical Association, has been confined to his house for several weeks. Mr. Jay has never fully recovered from the accident that he met with some two years since at a street crossing.

All communications connected with the editorial department of the MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY should be addressed to 98 Bible House, New York City. Articles on historical subjects, not available, will be returned by the editor, if accompanied by the requisite stamps to cover postage.

The second of the series of facsimiles of valuable manuscripts, to appear in the March issue, will be an unpublished letter written by General Grant to President Lincoln, just previous to the surrender of General Lee. Others of equal historical interest and value will follow in every future number of the MAGAZINE.

The series of monographs on the most important libraries of the United States, accompanied by illustrations, will appear regularly during the present year; those on the Congressional Library of Washington and the Public

Library of Boston, following Mr. Saunders's sketch of the Astor Library in the present number.

A correspondent writes from the University of the South to the editor, under date of January 21st: "It may interest you to know that a complete edition of Timrod's poems, with a thorough sketch of his life, is contemplated by Professor C. H. Ross, of Alabama. If from your stores of literary information you can aid him, he will, I am sure, appreciate it."

The chairman of the committee having in charge the noble statue of Columbus, by Sunol, to be erected in the Central Park in April, 1893, has just been informed from Madrid that the Spanish government will send the statue to New York in one of the ships of war that have been ordered to attend the great naval review in New York harbor in April next.

Dr. James C. Willing, president of the Columbia University of Washington, D. C., has just published an exhaustive and valuable monograph on the subject of the Behring Sea arbitration, which we can cordially commend to historical students and others interested in the subject of his brochure, which is one of the series of Columbian University studies.

The third volume of the *Memorial History of the City of New York* will be issued about the fourth of February. It brings the history of the metropolis down to the close of the year 1892. The fourth and concluding volume, containing exhaustive monographs on commerce, churches, hospitals, libraries, music, theatres, New York authors, and many other subjects, will appear in April or May.

Mr. George Augustus Sala, with his wonderful store of odd facts, tells us that hundreds of years ago the old-world printers used to chain copies of their books outside their offices, and reward peripatetic scholars who might detect errors with prizes graduated according to the seriousness of the slip—a cup of wine for a broken letter; a cup of wine and a plate of meat for a wrong font or a turned letter, and so on in proportion.

Dr. Sir John W. Dawson, in his *Geography of Canada*, remarks that while many Indian names have been preserved they have undergone a change in pronunciation. In general, the Indian names are descriptive of the locality. Thus, Quebec means "a strait" or "an obstruction." Toronto "a tree in the water," Winnipeg "muddy water," Saskatchewan "rapid current." Niagara, we may add, was originally Oniaghra, "thunder of the waters."

The miseries of the long-distance ride between Berlin and Vienna are not yet at an end, for

deaths are still being announced of the exhausted horses. One enthusiastic officer is making a collection of the shoes worn by the competing animals. Meanwhile the Italians are bent upon a similar ride from Rome to Vienna, but the course presents so many difficulties that the organizing committee cannot complete the arrangements, for which fact all lovers of animals must feel gratified.

There is still preserved an interesting memento of the friendship which for many years existed between Carlyle and Robert Browning. This relic is a copy of the original edition of *Bells and Pomegranates* (now a considerable rarity), given by the poet to the historian, and having upon the wrapper of part viii. (containing "Luria" and "The Soul's Tragedy") the following autograph inscription: "Thomas Carlyle, Esq., with R. B.'s affectionate respect and regard." This treasured volume was purchased by its present owner shortly after Carlyle's death in 1881.

At one of the last conversations held with the venerable historian George Bancroft, he expressed to the writer the wish that the government might become the possessor of his library, and particularly of his large collection of MSS., including the Samuel Adams papers. By a letter to the editor, dated Washington, January 23d, it is learned that the government will probably pass a bill during the present session for the purpose of purchasing Mr. Bancroft's manuscripts, and that they will be added to the valuable collection in the library of the State Department.

The recent gift of Miss Julia S. Bryant, of nearly one thousand selected volumes from the library of her father, William Cullen Bryant, to the trustees of the Tilden library, has been accepted "with gratitude" by the trustees, and will be sent forthwith to Mr. Tilden's home in Gramercy park, New York. Stephen A. Walker, one of the trustees, says: "We have no permanent headquarters as yet, but are not entirely homeless, as we are occupying Mr. Tilden's house, where we have our offices. We have ample room there for all the gifts that anybody will be kind enough to make to the library."

The printed volume of *Liber 1, Suffolk Deeds*, used in the preparation of the article on "La Tour and Acadia," was kindly furnished to the writer by the Historical Society of Dedham, Mass. It contains some of the most curious of old colonial records. At a very early date it was ordered by the Massachusetts General Court, "To record all men's houses and lands, being certified under the hands of men of every towne." The printed volume was published by the city of Boston, and Mr. William Blake Trask, an eminent antiquary, thoroughly conversant with

colonial history, was selected for the difficult task of making an accurate copy for the printer.

The sudden and lamented death of Mrs. Lamb, so long associated with the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY* as editor, has made a change in the conduct of the journal inevitable. The just tribute due this remarkable woman will be found elsewhere in these pages. The *MAGAZINE* has now passed into other hands, but into hands which, it is believed, will hold the mission of the journal in the same reverent estimation. We request the cordial support, and will gladly welcome suggestion and criticism, from every friend of the *MAGAZINE*, with a view to making it the most perfect vehicle which can be devised in the great field which it occupies. The publisher's prospectus will be found on another page.

A valuable collection of manuscripts of Richard Wagner, made by a certain Herr Oesterlein, of Vienna, was lately in danger of being sold to the United States, to the detriment of German research concerning the *maestro* in question. This peril has (says the Berlin correspondent of the *Standard*) now been averted by a certain Dr. Gotze, who has, in the name of the German Wagner Society, bought the whole collection as it stood on the 1st of June last for eighty-five thousand marks, ten thousand being paid down as a deposit at once. The remainder has to be paid by the 1st of April, 1895, and five thousand marks more if the society pleases to buy the additions which may be made in the meantime.

The question has been raised in the newspapers throughout the country whether "cousin" was used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for nephew or niece. Professor Rolfe, of Harvard, the Shakespearean commentator, says "that Shakespeare applies it so at least nine times to a nephew, seven times to a niece, twice to an uncle, once to a brother-in-law, and four times to a grandchild. He also uses it eight times as a title given by princes to other princes and noblemen. In 'Much Ado,' i. 2, 25, where Leonato says: 'Cousins, you know what you have to do,' it is used loosely for relatives in general; and in Luke i. 36, 58, it is evidently equivalent to kinswoman. A good example of its application to a niece is in 'As You Like It,' i. 3, 44, where Rosalind says to Duke Frederick: 'Me, uncle?' and he replies: 'You, cousin.'"

A Chicago correspondent, under date of January 23d, writes to inquire if the statement is true, which has been made by some of our contemporaries, that "there are no direct descendants of Napoleon, Wellington, Washington, and Walter Scott." This is certainly not true in regard to the hero of Waterloo, or the illustrious Scottish poet and novelist, whose dearly loved Abbotsford is now owned and occupied by his

great-granddaughter, the Hon. Mrs. Maxwell Scott, daughter of James Hope, who married Miss Lockhart; while a grandson of the "Iron Duke" is the present possessor of the title and estates, having, in 1884, succeeded his childless uncle, the second Duke of Wellington. Another grandson, the Hon. Arthur Wellesley, brother of the present duke and youngest son of Lord Charles Wellesley, is major of one of the three battalions of the Grenadier Guards.

The following letter on the subject of the present discussion concerning the relations of authors and publishers will perhaps be of interest to historians and other literary workers. It is addressed to the editor, and dated January 9, 1893: "Thinking it just possible that the enclosed conclusive article [a newspaper extract] may not meet your eye. I inclose it. Since 'Mr. Cody' is not known as an author, it seems very much as if he has written this article in the pay of some publishing house. At any rate, he seems rather hasty in his conclusions, when he decides that nothing whatever can be done by authors to obtain their proper rights. The man who insists that all publishers are honorable and honest is just as silly as he who should insist that all merchants, politicians, lawyers, and mechanics are honest and honorable. Every day's printed records of the world's occurrences prove that this is not true. There is no law by which only especially *honest* men may become publishers; men enter that business, as they enter

others, simply to make money. We all know that, as a rule, they *do* make money, while, as a rule, authors and writers are poor. The fact is patent that publishers really have better *chance* to cheat without being detected than do *any* other class of business men. Every man and woman who has ever fought this world for a living knows that the average man will get the best of a bargain whenever he *can*; and since we know that the publisher *can*, every time, manage the bargain to suit himself, we *must* suppose him far more honorable than the ordinary man, if he fail to take advantage of his opportunities. It is all very well for the optimist—who, I notice, is generally some fortunate and sheltered individual who has been protected from hard knocks—to preach about the excellence of human nature, the prevalence of honesty, the high standard of the century, and so on; at the same time, we all know we would not put uncounted diamonds into any broker's hands to sell; we would not place unreckoned rouleaux of gold coin in the possession of any bank official; we would not allow any tradesman or dealer to take from our purse what he chose to say was his due. Yet we do precisely this with the publisher of our books. We never *know* what he takes; we only know what he leaves. It seems amazing to me that writers have for so many years submitted to such treatment, and I hope fervently that they will not be discouraged from all effort against it by the clamor of the newspapers."

QUERIES

Can any of your readers give me the date of the oldest dwelling-house (if preserved) erected within the limits of the state of New York? Was it built of stone, brick, or wood? And by whom and where? I claim that the Sayre

house of Southampton, L. I., is the oldest.—It is still standing in a fair state of preservation, and was built in 1648.

C. H. GARDINER.

BRIDGE HAMPTON, N. Y.

REPLIES

To the Editor, MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY: The statement that Tom Thumb killed Poor Haydon has a great deal more truth than poetry in it. In 1846, Haydon, who had been for some time in embarrassed circumstances financially, exhibited two pictures, the last painted by him, in the Egyptian Hall, London. They were the "Banishment of Aristides," and "Nero Playing the Lyre during the Burning of Rome." In the same hall, in another room, Tom Thumb was being exhibited, and to the intense irritation of Haydon, the celebrated dwarf drew immense crowds, while Haydon's pictures did not draw at all, the artist closing his exhibition with a loss of over five hundred dollars. It is one of the most pitiful things extant to-day, to read his diary just before his suicide. April 13, 1846, he says: "They rush

by thousands to see Tom Thumb. They push, they fight, they scream, they faint, they cry help and murder! and oh! and ah! They see my bills, my boards, my caravans, and don't read them. Their eyes are open, but their sense is shut. It is an insanity, a rabies, a madness, a furor, a dream. I would not have believed it of the English people."

Again on April 21, he says: "Tom Thumb had twelve thousand people last week, B. R. Haydon one hundred and thirty-three and a half (the half a little girl). Exquisite taste of the English people!" In just about two months after this entry (June 22, 1846), with the pathetic quotation from King Lear, "Stretch me no longer on this rough world," the end came, both of the diary and his life. DAVID FITZGERALD.

WASHINGTON CITY.



NOTES FROM THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY—The society held its annual meeting, Friday evening, January 13th, at Berkeley Lyceum, 23 West Forty-fourth street. General James Grant Wilson, president, was in the chair. Dr. William T. White, James J. Goodwin, Edmund Abdy Hurry, and Samuel Burhans, jr., were elected trustees. An interesting paper was read by J. Collins Pumelly; subject: "Some Huguenot Families of New Jersey." This valuable paper and a fine steel portrait of Elias Boudinot, the eminent New Jersey Huguenot, will appear in the April number of the society's *Record*. At the annual election held on Wednesday, January 18th, General Wilson was reelected president; Dr. Samuel S. Purple, first vice-president; James J. Goodwin, second vice-president; William P. Ketcham, treasurer; Thomas G. Evans, secretary; and Garrit H. Van Wagenen, librarian.

the society for the past year, in which he referred with pleasure to the extension of the society's sphere of usefulness, and mentioning that twenty-eight new members had joined. He spoke of the precious relic on view in the society's rooms—namely: the original wooden model of the steamship *Royal William*; and told how Mr. Archibald Campbell, in order to indicate the honor of Quebec in having built and sent to sea the first ocean steamship, gathered all the information possible relating to the matter and had it published in the society's proceedings, and that the Royal Naval Exhibition of Chelsea, England, had awarded a diploma therefor. The librarian reported the addition of three hundred and fifty-seven volumes during the year, among the donations being a valuable collection of the works of the Egypt Exploration Society, presented by the Dean of Quebec. The treasurer's report was read, and an election of officers for the ensuing year was held, Mr. Tessier being reelected president.

THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY met in regular session at St. Paul, January 9th. Mr. Langford, from the committee on publication, reported that Vol. VII. of the society's collections had just been issued from the press, and distributed copies. This volume is entitled *The Mississippi River and its Source*, and is written by Professor J. V. Brower, who was commissioned in 1889 by the society to make an exhaustive survey of the basin of Lake Itasca, and report the exact facts regarding the true source of the river. The work is ably written, and shows conscientious labor. It is illustrated by numerous maps, many of them copies of the oldest ones known relating to the Northwest, and over fifty engravings of scenery on and around Lake Itasca. The report is very severe on Captain Glazier, who, several years ago, claimed to have found the true source of the Mississippi in another lake than Itasca, and procured its naming for himself. Judge Flandrau, from a special committee, reported a draft of a memorial to the legislature asking an appropriation from the state for one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the purpose of building a fire-proof building for the society. The memorial was approved and a committee appointed to press its passage.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The annual meeting was held on Tuesday evening, January 3d. The reports of the treasurer, librarian, and executive committee were read. The society has no debts, no mortgage on its building or collections. The committee recommended that the sum of \$350,000 be procured to erect a building on one half of the site purchased by the society on Central Park West. The receipts of the society were \$13,212.04 and the expenditures \$9,915.33; the invested funds amounted to \$84,215.37. During the year there have been added to the library 3,988 volumes of books, 2,541 pamphlets, 43 volumes and 502 numbers of rare newspapers, and 93 volumes of cuttings; 3 volumes of, and 73 separate maps; 11 volumes and 47 separate engravings, 6 photographs, 131 broadsides; 50 volumes of, and 79 separate manuscripts; also a collection of several thousand manuscripts preserved by the De Peyster and Watts families and presented by General J. Watts de Peyster. To the museum 376 articles were presented in 1892. The gallery of art was increased by the following portraits: Benjamin Franklin, painted in 1784, by Joseph S. Duplessis; Hon. John A. King, president of the society, painted by Robert Hinckley; Maximilian and Carlotta, as emperor and empress of Mexico; Zachary Taylor, as colonel of infantry; Rear-admiral Samuel L. Breese, painted by Daniel Huntington; and Myron

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC—The annual meeting of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec was held on January 11th, in the library of the society. Cyrille Tessier, Esq., the president, submitted the annual report of

Holley; also a medallion in marble of Dr. Fordyce Barker, by Verhagen.

The following board of officers were elected for the ensuing year: president, John A. King; first vice-president, John A. Weeks; second vice-president, John S. Kennedy; foreign corresponding secretary, John Bigelow; domestic corresponding secretary, Edward F. de Lancey; recording secretary, Andrew Warner; treasurer, Robert Schell; librarian, William Kelby.

THE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN AUTHORS held its first meeting of the year at the Bible House, New York, on January 4, at four P.M. The meeting of the executive committee took place half an hour earlier.

General Grant Wilson presided in the absence of Colonel T. W. Higginson, and Mr. E. H. Shannon filled the position of secretary temporarily, Mr. Charles Burr Todd, the secretary, being absent in Europe, in part in the interest of the association. A brief and pleasant review of the late meeting in Boston, and the courtesy tendered by Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, was followed by the consideration of the mooted "stamp" plan—by which it is proposed to secure to authors definite returns of the actual sale of their productions—as well as to obtain the coöperation of the publishers, in this or any other equally desirable plan. New instances of injustice at the hands of unscrupulous publishers were recited by several of the authors present. The discussion of the subject was both animated and practical. General Wilson instanced the indifference or opposition of some publishers, who know that such a system would result in the cutting off of many of their perquisites—and he spoke of the difficulty of bringing the publishers to agree upon any universal rule. They complain of the trouble, especially in the case of a large sale, of affixing the needed stamps. Dr. Flagg, who in leaving for a brief southern trip spoke of the necessity of agitating the matter through the press, volunteered to write a series of brief articles on the subject, and others coincided in the suggestion, especially in reference to city journals. Dr. Coan, of the New York Bureau of Revision, gave a very succinct statement of some of his literary clients and their tribulations. The general outcome of the discussion seemed to be that the objections of publishers were hardly valid—the curtailing of their perquisites being the great objection. The initiative of one reputable publisher in adopting our views would be an incentive to others to follow.

The proposition to substitute a die (to be a part of the binding) for the stamp met with an objection in the case of unsold copies. Gail Hamilton's "Battle of the Books" was men-

tioned as a brilliant and effective protest against the publisher's injustice in many instances.

It was suggested that the association be organized into committees for examining questions and conferring with publishers in our large cities—one or two such committees in each city—as well as to search for the legal standing as to authors' rights. On motion of Mr. W. C. Hudson, the chairman was authorized to appoint a committee to examine into the above subjects, and with the idea of forming an opinion among the publishers favorable to the stamp plan. It was suggested that this action would commit the association to the stamp plan. The matter was left with the chairman to take such action as he deemed proper. It had been hoped that a proof of the contract for authors would have been submitted at this meeting, but it was missent, and will be shown at the next meeting, to take place in the Managers' hall of the Bible House, on Wednesday, February 8, at four P.M.

General Wilson appointed the committees as follows: on legal rights, Messrs. Mathews, Hudson, and De Lancey; on stamp plan, Messrs. Coan, Rodenbough, and Shannon. A large number of new members were elected, representing seven different states.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY—A stated meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society was held January 12, the president, Dr. George E. Ellis, in the chair. After the reading of the record and of the list of donors to the library, the president said: "In the routine of preliminary business at the opening of our last meeting the usual call was made for the report of the cabinet keeper, Dr. F. E. Oliver. There was no response. Unknown to us his honored and useful life had just at that hour come to a sudden close from a brief illness. We lose in him a highly esteemed associate, faithful, earnest, and helpful in his service to this society, endeared to many of us by his affability and courtesy, his personal dignity, his refinement, and accomplishments. For thirteen of the sixteen years of his membership here he has had the charge of our precious cabinet, an office which engaged his zeal and intelligent interest in identifying and disposing the rich relics and gatherings of a century: portraits, gems, coins, weapons, trophies, and miscellaneous historical memorials. A recent vote of the society had recognized its high appreciation of his services. His donations to us began before his election to membership.

"After that we owe to him the gift of the missing portion of the manuscript of *Hubbard's History* and of Increase Mather's family Bible. He was the medium of procuring for this country copies of the publication in England of the *Diary and Letters of Governor Hutchinson* after

he had left in sorrow his home and country. Dr. Oliver printed for private circulation the *Diaries of the Two Chief Justices Lynde*, father and son, of Massachusetts, and the *Diary of William Pynchon*, of Salem, during the war of the Revolution. His annual reports to us as cabinet keeper contain matter of interest. He came of a family identified with this colony from its settlement. If I am not in error, that family in all its generations here shows a peculiarity in that its many members have followed educated and professional rather than mercantile occupations; at one period of storm in sympathy with the mother country, Dr. Oliver was greatly cherished and esteemed in his domestic, social, professional, and religious fellowships." The president then presented from J. C. Rogers, of this city, an original letter from Rev. Dr. Bentley, of Salem, written in 1804, in acknowledgment of his appointment as chaplain of the United States house of representatives. Robert C. Winthrop, jr., read an unpublished letter from Mrs. John Adams to James Bowdoin, written the day before the battle of Bunker Hill and communicating news from the continental congress; also a letter to Bowdoin from Thomas

Cushing, written a few days later and giving an interesting description of George Washington; also a letter to Bowdoin from John Hancock, complaining of the overseers of Harvard college. These three letters, with numerous others of the same period, have recently come to light in a long-forgotten chest which had been supposed to contain only probate accounts and land titles. Mr. Winthrop stated his intention of placing the greater portion of this new material at the service of the society.

W. P. Upham said that he had recently found in the state archives a copy in shorthand of the instructions given to Captain Daniel Henchman in May, 1676, when placed in command of the forces raised against the Indians. These instructions he had deciphered with considerable difficulty, and they will be printed for the first time in the proceedings of the society.

Justin Winsor read an elaborate and very interesting paper on the voyages and explorations of North America between the voyage of Columbus in 1493 and the voyage of Cartier in 1534, with a full exposition of the gradual modification of the theories which led to them.

OBITUARY, JANUARY, 1893

BROOKS, PHILLIPS, Bishop of Massachusetts, and among the most eminent preachers of the Episcopal Church, died in Boston, 23d January, aged fifty-eight years.

BUTLER, GENERAL BENJAMIN F., lawyer and soldier, died in Washington, D. C., 11th January, aged seventy-five years.

HAYES, GENERAL RUTHERFORD B., ex-President of the United States, died at Fremont, Ohio, 17th January, aged seventy-one years.

KEMBLE, MRS. FRANCES ANNE, actress and author, died in London, England, 16th January, aged eighty-two years.

LAMAR, LUCIUS QUINTUS CINCINNATUS, Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court, died at Macon, Ga., 23d January, aged sixty-eight years.

LAMB, MRS. MARTHA J., editor MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY, died in New York City, 2d January, aged sixty-three years.

We are not always able to agree with Mr. Froude as an historian; but as a writer of modern English he has few equals, and a tale told as he can tell it ought to be read, if only to let younger readers more clearly understand the capabilities of their mother tongue.—*Athenaeum*.

An interesting feature of the January number of *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review* is a paean in Persian and Arabic, entitled "Ave Kaisar-i-Hind!" followed by an Urdu prize translation of the National Anthem. Persian and Arabic invocations take the form of chronograms; that is, the numerical value of all the letters both in the Persian and in the Arabic verses make up the date 1893. January 1, 1893, is the seventeenth anniversary of the Queen's assumption of the imperial title Kaisar-i-Hind. The letters representing the date in

Persian make up the words which are translated: "May the festival-day of the Kaisar-i-Hind ever be blessed! By the name of Victoria may it ever be blessed!" The words of the Arabic chronogram are rendered in English—"Victoria, helped by God, is the Kaisar of India, may her good fortune ever continue!" The National Anthem will not seem to English ears to be improved as retranslated from the Urdu prize translation. Here is the first stanza:

May Kaisar remain lasting,
May keep upon us standing (enduring)
God, the Kaisar,
Keep always victorious
Happy and pleasanter
A sovereign ruler upon us,
God! the Kaisar.

MISCELLANEA

Nothing Carlyle wrote is quite worthless ; because he had the high ideal of artistic duty. He spared no labor to get at the facts of his case ; he was equally diligent in arrangement and expression ; for no profit would he stoop to hackwork. Like every one else, he was unequal ; but he wisely left all manner of fragments unpublished and uncollected. Would that others had followed so brave an example !—*National Observer*.

Among her contemporaries, Mary Stuart, even if a murderer, is conspicuous for her charm, her courage, her loyalty to her faith and her friends. She was no sour, bloodthirsty fanatic, no pedant, no hypocrite ; and if she was guilty (with many of her lords) of knowing that Darnley was to be killed, she still remains the most human, the most winning of those astonishingly unscrupulous gangs, the Scotch and English politicians of the age.—*Andrew Lang*.

M. Pasteur is a reminder that France still possesses the best guarantee of greatness in a nation, the capacity to produce great men. He is the representative of both a long and crowded line of intellectual ancestors and a pretty numerous family of contemporaries worthy of himself. M. Pasteur belongs to an age which has produced a Charcot, a Berthelot, and a Lesseps, as well as Renans, Hugos, Taines, Gounods, Meissoniers, Thiers, MacMahons.—*Speaker*.

The severe Puritan Sunday has gone far towards undermining the healthy observance of Sunday. The teetotal superstition has done as much to injure the cause of temperance as the love of morbid excitement itself. The extravagant language used against harmless and useful amusements has done at least as much to inspire scorn for the cry against gambling in consequence of its overstraining of the truth, as the delight in sudden windfalls of luck itself.—*Spectator*.

Under the caption "Briton" are included English, Scotch, Welsh, and Irish. Looking at each division of the same folk separately, in their own country they rank, in point of earnings and standard of life—first, the Scotch ; secondly, the English ; thirdly, the Welsh ; fourthly, the Irish. In America the order is changed ; the Scotchman retains the supremacy, but next comes the Irishman, then the Welshman, and finally the Englishman.—*Contemporary Review*.

The most accurate criticism, perhaps, in the concrete kind that can be pronounced on Mr. Whittier is that he was in reality just the kind of poet that hasty and uncatholic judges have often pronounced Mr. Longfellow to be. When

Longfellow was at his least good and Whittier at his best, they walked pretty closely side by side ; but Whittier never reached the upper slopes of Parnassus, on which Longfellow, if he could not climb its summits, often trod.—*Saturday Review*.

The character of Columbus is not easily gauged ; he seems to have been a man of many moods, and there is abundant evidence that he possessed an ardent and impetuous nature. Imaginative and sensitive, he could be by turns magnanimous and cruel ; and if there was, perhaps, more to admire than to censure in his personal character, his attitude towards others was sometimes not merely high-handed, but vindictive. He had, in short, the faults of his quality and his age ; but no one can seriously question his claim to rank amongst the world's heroic men of action.—*Speaker*.

The history of philosophy is the true philosophy in its evolution—that is Hegel's theory at once of philosophy and of the history of philosophy. It is often supposed that the principle of evolution first appeared in its application by Darwin to the facts of biology, and that its extension to the domain of mind was an afterthought. As a matter of fact, the far more pregnant application to history, and art, and philosophy, and religion, had been systematically carried out by Hegel long before Darwin ; and not even Hegel can claim the credit of its invention.—*Spectator*.

The National History Company, of this city, has just acquired the MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY, formerly edited by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, who died suddenly on the morning of January 2. This company already publishes *The National Magazine*, formerly *The Magazine of Western History*. Beginning with the February issue, these two historical journals will be combined, and the name of the older MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY, now in its twenty-ninth volume, will be retained for the new periodical. The magazine will be at once enlarged and the price reduced to four dollars a year.

General James Grant Wilson will edit the new periodical. General Wilson is well known as an editor, and especially in the historical field. He has been a frequent contributor to leading English and American periodicals, and is the author of several well-known historical and biographical works. He is editor of the series of *American Commanders*, now being issued by Appletons. Since 1885 he has been president of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, is a member of the American Historical Association, and an honorary member of other American and foreign historical societies.—*New York Tribune*.

RECENT HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

THE MEMORIAL HISTORY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE YEAR 1892. Edited by JAMES GRANT WILSON. With maps and illustrations. Vols. I., II., III. Royal 8vo, pp. 654. New York History Company. 1891-93.

The appearance of the third volume of this exhaustive history of the city of New York will cause a renewed interest in a work which was stamped as the standard story of the great metropolis when its first volume was given to the public nearly two years ago. The promises then made have been faithfully kept; the system of co-operative contributions by well-known writers has been continued, and the perfection of the mechanical part of the work has not deviated in the slightest degree from the original design. The second volume met with as flattering a reception as was accorded the first, and a single glance sufficed to show that no deterioration either in literary worth or artistic excellence had been permitted. Steel portraits, vignettes, autographs, views of historic buildings and places, fac-similes of rare papers, and interesting maps were introduced with profusion. It was universally admitted that the undertaking was in competent hands, and it received the highest encomiums from the press. In the present (the third) volume, the same earnest research and industry on the part of the writers contributing the several chapters are again evinced, the same editorial care and painstaking supervision are again apparent, and upon perusing its contents the possessors of the initial volumes will experience the satisfaction of owning a great work "excellently well done."

Inasmuch as this new volume brings the relation of events up to the close of 1892, it is appropriate, within the limits at our disposal, to notice very briefly the ground covered by the whole work. The first volume of the *Memorial History* begins with a thorough discussion of the explorations along the coast of North America previous to and including Henry Hudson's voyage. The stories of the voyages of the Northmen, of the brothers Zeno, of Sebastian Cabot, of Aylton, and of the Spaniards Verrazano and Gomez, from whose time (1525) the situation of the bay of New York was known, are told in a most entertaining manner. The tale of the founding of the great commercial emporium of the west is unfolded, from the days of the Indian dwellers

on Manne-hata down through the several administrations of the colonial governors. In successive chapters are described the acts and times of the Dutch governors, Peter Minuit, Walter Van Twiller, William Kieft, and Peter Stuyvesant (1647-64), the last of the New Netherlands representatives. These are followed by accounts of the administrations of the English governors, Richard Nicolls, Francis Lovelace, Sir Edmund Andros, and Thomas Dongan, and also of Jacob Leisler, to the time of Benjamin Fletcher (1692-98) and the rise of piracy in New York. The volume closes with two chapters devoted respectively to a *résumé* of the constitutional and legal history of New York in the seventeenth century, and to the state of the art of printing during the same epoch. In volume second a similar assignment of periods is made, and the chapters embrace "The Earl of Bello-mont and the Suppression of Piracy," "The Administration of Lord Cornbury," "Lord Lovelace and the Second Canadian Campaign," "Robert Hunter and the Settlement of the Palatines," "The Administration of William Burnet," "The City under Governor John Mont-gomerie," "William Cosby and the Freedom of the Press," "George Clinton and his Contest with the Assembly," "Sir Danvers Osborn and Sir Charles Hardy," "The Part of New York in the Stamp Act Troubles," "The Second Non-importation Agreement," "Life in New York at the Close of the Colonial Period," and "New York during the Revolution (1775-83); closing with a review of the constitutional and legal history of New York in the eighteenth century.

We cannot fail, however, in opening the present volume, to entertain at once a livelier curiosity in its pages, for the easily understood reason that it deals mainly with events which have happened within the recollection of many persons now living, with a period concerning which most of us can lay claim to some personal knowledge. And it therefore appeals more forcibly to the reader's interest than do those volumes—entertaining as they may be—which rehearse the social and political life and times of a hundred and fifty or two hundred years ago. Familiar names and faces greet us from the outset, a lavish display of illustrations is again apparent, and the eye rests contentedly on admirable paper and printing, while the mind absorbs the literary treasures presented. Six fine steel engravings enrich this volume, in conformity to the preceding ones, the subjects selected being portraits of Alexander Hamilton, Robert

R. Livingston, Mrs. John Jay, DeWitt Clinton, John Jacob Astor, and John Adams Dix; the autographs of the mayors are continued up to 1893, making the series complete for more than two hundred and fifty years! The introductory chapter is devoted to "New York City under American Control (1783-89)," and is followed by "New York as the Federal Capital." A chapter succeeds these, one which will be eagerly read, on "Society in New York in the Early Days of the Republic," and the fourth chapter witnesses the close of the eighteenth century. The editor writes about the opening of the nineteenth century, and the following period, 1807-12, is given to the "Beginning of Steam Navigation." The exciting days of the "Second War with Great Britain," and the "Return of Peace, and the Completion of the Erie Canal," are next treated of; these are succeeded by a description of the "Beginning of New York's Commercial Greatness," and "Ten Years of Municipal Vigor" (1837-47), when the city had firmly asserted her claim to be more than a mere ordinary town, and had begun her giant strides toward the high position she has held, for over half a century, as the western metropolis. A detailed relation of the "Telegraphs and Railroads and their Impulses to Commerce" is followed by an interesting chapter on the "Premonitions of the Civil War"; then "New York in the War for the Union" will prove most instructive, and will revive recollections of the early days of the war. The next period (1865-78) is on the "Recovery from War; Speculation and Reaction, and the Tweed Ring." The concluding chapter (1878-92) rounds out fittingly a volume of unusual interest. The customary review of the New York laws up to the present day finishes the third volume.

The fourth volume, which will be issued in the spring, will be made up of monographs on special subjects, such as the authors of New York, commerce, churches, museums, clubs, theatres, hospitals and other charities, music, newspapers, currency, public and private libraries, Staten Island and other suburbs, slavery in New York, statues and monuments, the military, seats of learning—all illustrated; and, in addition, it will contain a complete index to the four volumes.

W. S. W.

THE COLONIAL ERA. By GEORGE PARK FISHER, D.D., LL.D. With maps. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1892.

This neat and readable little volume, though almost intended for elementary purposes only, is from the hand of a master in the art of historical writing. But it is presumably a pretty generally accepted maxim that a master of his art—or rather, in this case, a head full of information on a subject—will be most successful in

condensing his information when it is called for in brief form.

We do not know what has excited our admiration most as we perused this admirable compendium of our colonial history—the brevity of the statement, or the fulness of the information furnished in spite of that brevity. In a few sentences, sometimes in a paragraph, we are given a survey of the events of several years, from which are by no means excluded the proper observations which shall keep within our view the political significance of the events. Yet in this swift glance even minute occurrences will find some mention. It is like the momentary flash of the lightning at night, which none the less in its instant of time gives us the trees, farm-houses, barns, fences, hills of the landscape. Thus in the recital of the Plymouth settlement we do not fail to see the doughty Samoset come in with his "Welcome"—"the Englishmen" of the usual tradition being duly omitted as not warranted by history. And in the account of New Netherland, Domine Michaelius is seen in his proper place, nor are the preceding "consolers of the sick" forgotten.

Dr. Fisher reduces the somewhat chaotic character of our colonial history to intelligent order and logical sequence by the sensible division of his topic. He treats the separate colonies individually, of course, but stops with each at 1688, and then begins over again with each until 1756, the beginning of the "French and Indian War," the struggle that first unified them. He says, in explanation of his principle of division: "The English revolution of 1688 is so important a landmark that it appeared to me advisable to break the narrative into two parts. By this arrangement the attention is not kept fastened on each colony by itself through the entire course of the history, while the others are in the main left out of sight. It also seemed a little more conducive to unity of impression to take up the several colonies in a different order in the second part, from that adopted in the first." We find that Professor Fiske has also recognized the importance of the English revolution of 1688 as a turning point in our colonial history, for his *Beginnings of New England* takes us up to that epoch, concluding with the pregnant remark: "In the events we have here passed in review, it may be seen so plainly that he who runs may read, how the spirit of 1776 was foreshadowed in 1689."

It is announced that this useful little volume is the first of a series of four, which are to be distinct in authorship, and each complete in itself, but yet are designed to afford a brief and connected history of the United States from the discovery of America to the present time. We shall look for the forthcoming of the other volumes, if this furnishes a specimen of the excellence that is to distinguish them all.

THE GREAT COMMANDER SERIES :
GENERAL TAYLOR. By MAJOR-GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD, U.S.A. 12mo.
New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1892.

The above volume represents the second installment of this attractive series of brief biographies, the preceding issue having been devoted to the life of Admiral Farragut, written by Captain A. T. Mahan, U.S.N. This series of the lives of our great commanders is likely to attract the instant attention of the reading public. The period covered extends from Washington to Sheridan, and the aim of the editor has been to furnish a valuable and impartial source of reference to the student of our military and naval history. A high order of excellence has been sought for and obtained in producing these biographies; each life has been intrusted to a specially competent writer, and will be brief and comprehensive. The following volumes are in preparation : General Washington, by General Bradley T. Johnson ; General Greene, by Captain Francis V. Greene ; General Sherman, by General Manning F. Force ; General Grant, by General James Grant Wilson ; General Scott, by General Marcus J. Wright ; Admiral Porter, by James Russell Soley, Assistant Secretary of

the Navy ; General Lee, by General Fitzhugh Lee ; General Johnston, by Robert M. Hughes, of Virginia ; General George H. Thomas, by Dr. Henry Coppée, late U.S.A. ; General Hancock, by General Francis H. Walker ; and General Sheridan, by General Henry E. Davies. Each volume will contain from three hundred to four hundred pages, and will include a steel portrait and maps. The series is printed on superb tinted paper, exquisitely bound in pale green vellum cloth, with gilt tops. The third volume of the series is the *Life of General Jackson*, which was the last literary work of the late James Parton.

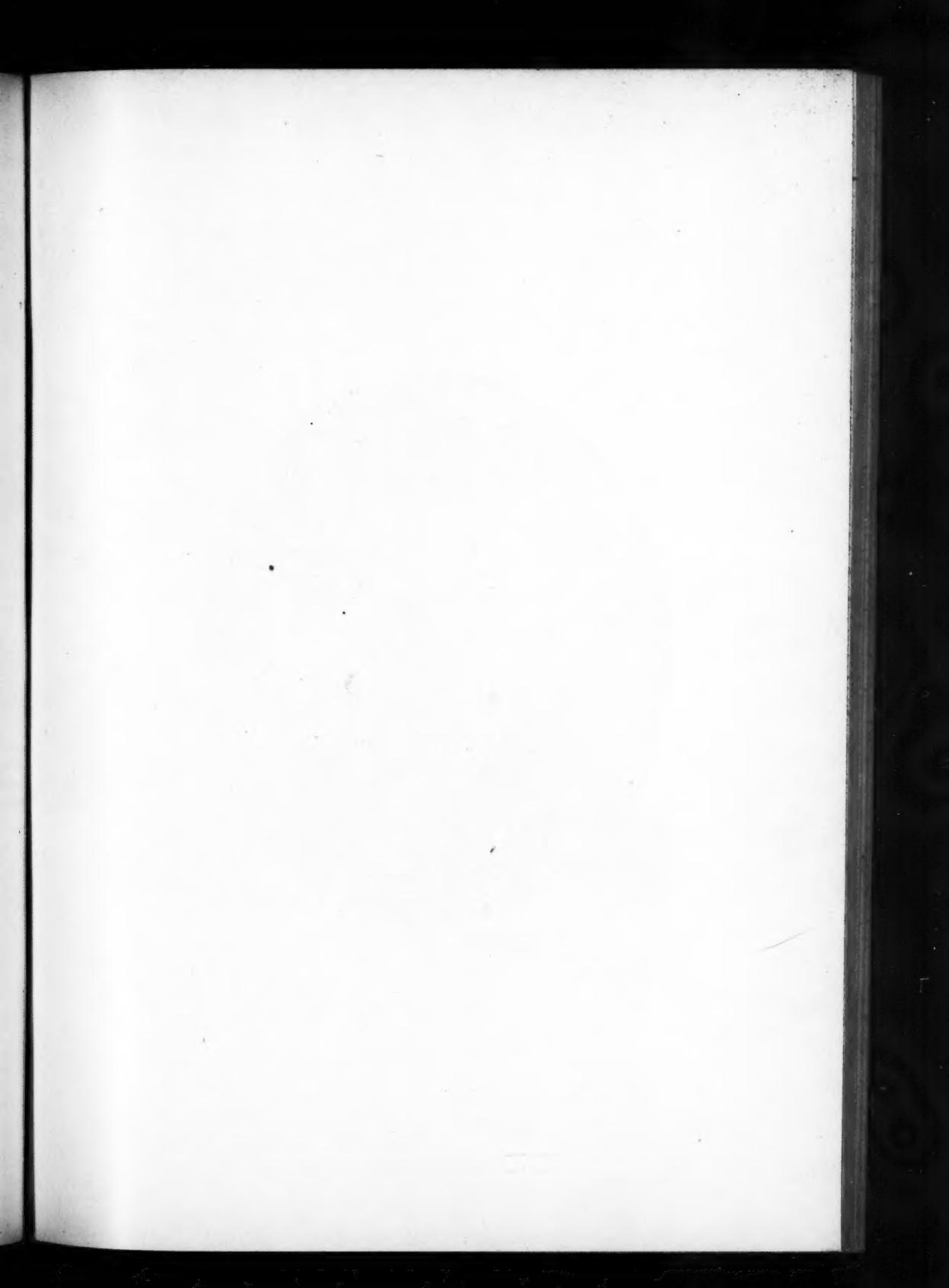
MISCELLANIES, RELIGIOUS AND PERSONAL, AND SERMONS. By the REV. GEORGE W. NICHOLS, D.D. Bridgeport, Conn. 12mo, pp. 379.

This pleasant volume, by a well-known writer, who has published several books of interest, contains many historical and biographical reminiscences of value, including recollections of Chief Justice Jay and General Andrew Jackson, and of events occurring when the writer was a student at Yale and at the Episcopal Theological Seminary in this city, some sixty years ago.

Can we suppose that the fortunes of ancient Rome, and of modern civilization, would have been exactly what they were, and are, if some mad freak of Caesar's in his youthful days had recoiled fatally on himself? Or that Luther, by almost a single act, has not left a mark on the pages of religious history which seems unlikely to be ever quite obliterated? Or that the stream of literature would have run precisely the course it has run if Shakespeare had been knocked on the head some dark night in Sir Thomas Lucy's preserves?—*Contemporary Review*.

Having recently seen a paragraph in *The Stationer* to the effect that a perfect book has never yet been printed, I should be glad to hear what the readers of "N. & Q." have to say upon the subject. By perfect is meant free from any mistake. The notice stated that a Spanish firm of publishers once produced a work in which one letter only got misplaced through accident, and this is believed to have been the nearest approach to perfection that has ever been attained in a book. It further stated that an English house had made a great effort to the same end, and issued proof-sheets to the universities with an offer of fifty pounds if any error was discovered in them; but in spite of this precaution several blunders remained undetected until the work issued from the press.—*Notes and Queries*.

The statement recently made in a dispatch from Hartford that ex-President Pynchon, of Trinity College, had obtained the copy of William Pynchon's book, which lately belonged to H. S. Sheldon, of Sheffield, is interesting to antiquarians. That copy is the best of those now existing. Next to this is the copy in the Congregational Library in Boston. The only other copy, so far as I know, is the one in the British Museum, which I examined some years ago. The scarcity of the copies is due, not to the fire in the Boston market-place (for that consumed but a small number of copies), but simply to the lapse of time. The book, entitled *The Meritorious Price of Our Redemption*, was published in London in 1650. The edition was a small one, and it is not surprising that, after the lapse of two hundred and forty years, it is a rare book. It is not true that Mr. Pynchon recanted, or that he fled to Connecticut. He sent a communication to the general court, which may be found in *The Andover Review* of September, 1886, and remained a year or two in Springfield, waiting the action of the court. Then he settled up his business and departed for England, where he lived for two years, employed in literary pursuits. His book was a very able one, and casts a flood of light upon the state of opinion in Massachusetts twenty years after the settlement of Boston.—REV. E. H. BYINGTON, in *Boston Herald*.





THE FIRST PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON.

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XXIX

MARCH, 1893

No. 3

GREAT CITIES IN THE CIVIL WAR

I.—NEW YORK

BY GENRAL T. F. RODENBOUGH

IF the city of New York was conspicuous as the centre of operations during the war to establish the unity and independence of the colonies, it was no less prominent as the principal base of supplies in the struggle to preserve the Union. An ancient writer has said, "It sufficeth not to the strength of the armes to have flesh, blood, and bones, unless they have also sinewes to stretch out and pull in for the defense of the body; so it sufficeth not in an army to have Victuals, for the maintenance of it; Armour and Weapons for the defense of it; unless it have *Money* also, the *Sinewes of Warre*."¹ The financial records of the time bear convincing testimony to the effective manner in which the merchants and bankers of the Empire City supplied the federal government with the "sinewes" needed "to stretch out and pull in for the defense of the body" of the nation in its great peril. Before a shot had been fired, two important expeditions, designed to succor beleaguered garrisons, were fitted out at this port; after the capture of Sumter, a movement to the front of men and means furnished by New York began, and did not end until the surrender at Appomattox.

It is a notable fact that whenever the country has been threatened with danger to its form of government, the city of New York has declared

¹ Ward's *Animadversions of Warre*, London, 1639.



Ch. O'Connor